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The Paippalāda Samhitā of the Atharvaveda:
A Critical Edition, Translation, and
Study of Books 13 and 14.

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**The Paippalāda Saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda:
A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study
of Books 13 and 14.**

A thesis presented

By

Carlos Alfredo Lopez

to

The Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies

**In partial fulfillment for the requirements
of the degree of**

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**in the subject of
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ABSTRACT

The Paippalāda Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda: A Critical Edition, Translation, and Study of books 13 and 14.

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The Atharvaveda, the second oldest Indian text, is known to have existed in nine *sākhā-s* or schools. From the nine *sākhā-s* of the Atharvaveda, two *saṃhitā-s* – Paippalāda and Śaunaka – have been transmitted and preserved until the present. The two *saṃhitā-s* share about 75 % of their content, and each contains material that is not found in the other. While both *saṃhitā-s* share much sorcery, speculative, and *grhya* ‘domestic’ ritual material, the Paippalāda Saṃhitā, in addition, contains material that focuses on the royal consecration ritual. The Paippalāda Saṃhitā thus provides a glimpse into the political and social conditions as well as the religious developments of the post R̥gvedic Period not offered by the Śaunaka Saṃhitā.

This thesis presents the first critical edition, as well as the first translation and study, of the thirteenth and fourteenth books of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda. The editor has adopted the method of textual criticism detailed by Paul Maas (1958) and has incorporated recent advances in the understanding of the transmission of oral and written texts in South Asia. In preparing the critical edition, two crucial, and often ignored, sources of error in the transmission of Vedic and Sanskrit texts have been studied: (1) the influence of local languages on the pronunciation and recitation of Vedic and Sanskrit; and (2) the influence of the historical development of the scripts used in the written transmission. For the present edition, this means the influence of Kashmiri and Oriya upon the pronunciation of Vedic, as well as the historical development of Indian scripts, paying special attention to the history of Śāradā, the local script of Kashmir, and Oriya, the local script of Orissa, as well as the development of the Early Nāgarī script in the post-Gupta period.

In preparing the critical edition, five manuscripts have been used, including facsimiles of two palm-leaf manuscripts obtained by D.M. Bhattacharya in the 1950's and recently used by Dipak Bhattacharya for his edition of 1997 books 1-15. In the introduction, the recent edition of Bhattacharya, which was published while the present thesis was in progress, is discussed critically.

The translation that accompanies the edition aims to be as literal as possible, while providing a clear understanding of the material contained in the *Paippalāda Samhitā*. The notes provide information on grammatical and philological points, problems of paleography, and oral transmission. The notes aim also to provide specialists and non-specialists alike with information relevant to an understanding of Vedic and Hindu religion and culture.

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ABBREVIATIONS

An	Anuṣṭubh pāda
ĀpSS	Āpastamba Śrautasūtra
AV	Atharvaveda
AVPariś	Atharvaveda Pariśiṣṭa
BĀU	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
Bh	Dipak Bhattacharya's edition of PS 1-15
B _T	Barret's transcription of Kā
BSS	Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra
CA	Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā
CU	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
GB	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa
Gu _c	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Guhiapal manuscript
Ja	Jagannathpur manuscript, use by Bhattacharya (1997).
JB	Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa
Jg	Jagatī pāda
JUB	Jaiminīya Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa
Kā	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Kashmir manuscript
Kā _{sm}	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Kashmir manuscript, <i>secunda manu</i>
KĀ	Kaṭha Āraṇyaka
KauŚS	Kauśika Sūtra
KS	Kaṭha Saṃhitā
KpS	Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā
Ma _{2c}	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Mahantipur manuscript
Mā _{1c}	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Makanda manuscript
MBh	Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali
MHB	Mahābhārata
MS	Maitrāyanī Saṃhitā
MSS	Mānava Śrautasūtra
MW	Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary
NU	Nīlarudra Upaniṣad
P	Pāṇini, sūtra from the Aṣṭadhyāyī
Pa _c	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Parikula manuscript
PB	Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa
PS	Paippalāda Saṃhitā
PSK	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Kashmir branch
PSO	Paippalāda Saṃhitā, Orissa branch
RV	Rgveda
RVKhil	Rgveda Khilās
ŚāṅkhŚS	Śāṅkhāyana Śautrasūtra
ŚB	Śatapaṭha Brāhmaṇa
ŚvetU	Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad

ŚS	Śaunaka Saṃhitā, Roth-Whitney edition
ŚS _{SPP}	Śaunaka Saṃhitā, Śaṅkar Pāṇḍuraṇ Pandit edition
SV	Sāmaveda
TĀ	Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
Tr	Trīṣṭubh pāda
TU	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
Vā	Vasudevpur manuscript, used by Bhattacharya (1997)
VaitS	Vaitāna Sūtra
VādhSS	Vādhūla Śrautasūtra
VS	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā
VSK	Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, Kāṇva
YV	Yajurveda

Note on Translation

The primary aim of this thesis is to provide an accurate edition and translation of the text of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. All translations of Sanskrit material in the introductory matter are my own unless otherwise noted. Translation of the Paippalāda text here edited is my own.

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VEDIC LITERATURE AND THE ATHARVAVEDA TRADITION

The earliest known literature from India,¹ or, to be more precise, from the cultural entity² that we label India, is the Veda. The term itself carries several connotations, depending who is using it and who is reading it.³

Within the Hindu tradition, Veda refers to the eternal and immutable texts that have been composed by the primordial sages (*rshi-s*). These range from the earliest texts – the R̄gveda (RV), the Sāmaveda (SV), Yajurveda (YS) and Atharvaveda (AV) – to the relatively recent Purāṇas, all of which are traditionally attributed to the famous sage Vyāsa.⁴ In theory, the epics composed in

¹ The earliest known texts from India are those written in the Indus Valley Script, which remains untranslated. For recent discussions on this topic, see Parpola (1993), G. L. Possehl (1996), and Witzel (1999b).

² India, as cultural entity, is not confined to the political boundaries of the modern nation-state of India. In general, it may be said to include the area from the modern Kabul River to the tip of southern India and Śri Laṅka, and to the north, it encompasses Kashmir and Nepal.

³ A similar confusion is found with reference to the term Torah. In any instance that the term is used, it can simultaneously mean the first five books (TANAK), the whole of the Old Testament or the ‘oral’ Torah.

⁴ Vyāsa Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana, literally the ‘arranger’, from *vī* + *vās*, is traditionally named as the author of Mahābhārata, the 18 mahāpurāṇas, and as the compiler of the Vedas.

performance – the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa – as well as the Allah Upaniṣad, a very late upaniṣad, can also be traditionally referred to as Veda.

The question of the meaning of the term Veda has become the topic of much scholarly discussion in recent years, which culminated in the publication of Laurie Patton's *Authority, Anxiety, and Canon: Essays in Vedic Interpretation*. Although the title is somewhat misleading – implying that its scope is the interpretation of these texts within the context of Vedic culture – this work highlights the important issue of the meaning and interpretation of the term Veda in the culture and traditions that succeeded Vedic culture and religion. Taking the perspective of Jonathan Z. Smith, that “canon is a salutary category in the study of religion because it incorporates questions of authority and innovation simultaneously,”⁵ the contributors to Patton's volume argue that the essence of the Veda has been integrated into later traditions. What we learn is that within the Hindu tradition(s) the term Veda has been and continues to be re-interpreted in new contexts of authority (religious and political) and used to grant authority to new religious ideas.

The scholarly and native discussion of the meaning of Veda is not restricted to texts and traditions that emerged out of the Vedas themselves. In her 1994 book, Vasudha Narayanan has explored the meaning of Veda and its relation the

⁵ Patton (1994: 2).

tenth century Tamil poem, the *Tiruvāyamoli*. As she explains:

Specifically, the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition today considers the *Tiruvāyamoli* to be similar to the Sanskrit Veda in two important ways but different in one aspect. Both the Tamil and the Sanskrit Vedas are the eternal word, and, second, they contain the same message; the *Tiruvāyamoli*, however, is perceived to be more lucid and accessible than the Sanskrit Veda.⁶

These discussions of the *Tiruvāyamoli* as the Tamil Veda are found as early as the thirteenth century work of Alaliya Maṇavāla Nāyanār's *Ācārya Hṛdayam*.

Given the re-thinking of the term Veda within the traditions of the subcontinent, one must begin by defining the term Veda in order to be able to circumscribe the extent of Vedic literature as well as the position of the AV therein. In modern scholarship, Veda implies not only the traditional definition, but also includes the understanding of the term within the academic disciplines of Indology and Religious Studies. Following Śaṅkara's knowledge of the Vedic texts, some modern scholars understand Veda to encompass the *vedānta* 'end of the Veda,' the literature that ranges from the R̥gveda to the Upaniṣads. Within the sub-discipline of modern Vedic Studies, Veda can refer to the four Vedic samhitā-s, to the R̥gveda exclusively, or to the corpus of literature, whose focus is the Vedic ritual.

For the present discussion, I will use Veda to refer to the corpus of Vedic literature whose focus is primarily the Vedic ritual, which has been composed,

⁶ Narayanan (1994: 19).

preserved, and transmitted orally. These texts were taught orally and recited on the offering ground. Vedic literature is “oral” in a somewhat different sense than that described by Albert Lord regarding the Homeric Epic.⁷ Stephanie Jamison summarizes the features of the broad oral-formulaic aspects of Vedic literature as follows:

Though much of it is in verse, it is poetry of a different stripe from epic – condensed, elliptical, grammatically scrambled. The language is formulaic in the broad sense, but it makes surprisingly little use of metrically fixed and verbally frozen formulae in the strict sense.⁸

The form of the hymns was fixed relatively early and preserved without variation, probably during the early Vedic period, at a time when new hymns were still being composed and the ‘Vedic canon’ was still open. For the most part, these texts were transmitted orally through *sākhā-s*,⁹ or schools, for a lengthy period before being written down.¹⁰ The earliest surviving Vedic manuscripts, written without accents, are from a much later period (ca. 1000 AD from Nepal).

⁷ See Lord (1960).

⁸ Jamison (1991: 8).

⁹ Each theological or ritual tradition originated from a small group of followers of a particular Veda in a relatively small geographical area of North India. As time passed, an individual Veda was preserved and transmitted through a school that also produced additional exegetical texts proper to its own Veda.

¹⁰ Writing in India is relatively late as compared with other Indo-European cultures. In addition to the Indus Valley Script, still not deciphered, the earliest example of writing in India comes with the edicts of Aśoka, ca. 269-232 BC. For the most recent discussion on history of writing in Indian, see Falk (1993).

The level of accuracy of the oral tradition varies from Veda to Veda. The R̄gveda, the oldest Indian text, is the most accurately preserved and transmitted of the Vedic texts. The collection of *ṛc-s* ‘verses,’ which was the intellectual property of certain families, or clans, has been transmitted word for word, unchanged, for the last 3000 years or more. The accuracy of the transmission of the RV can be seen not only on the level of verse and hymn, but also in the precision of the accentuation. Each word, and more importantly each accent, has been carefully preserved. If one goes to different areas of India where R̄gvedic recitation is still alive today, one can still hear what can be regarded as “a tape recording” of the recitation of the same text that was recited in ca. 1200 BC.

The transmission of other Vedas, however, has not been nearly as well preserved as that of the RV. The received texts of individual traditions with a small base of reciters have had increasingly more errors in the oral and later written transmission of their texts.¹¹ In turn, this has led to a situation where little control over the accuracy of the medieval manuscript tradition was possible. Once the oral tradition was lost or weakened, no mechanisms were in place to correct errors that entered into the manuscript tradition. The worst transmission case is the Atharvaveda, where the true oral tradition of the two surviving sākhā-s

¹¹ Among the traditions with small or non-existent bases of reciters, one can count the Paippalāda and the Śaunaka traditions of the AV, the Jaiminiya tradition of the SV, and the Vādhūla, Maitrāyanī and Kāṭha traditions of the YV.

has been lost completely. One result of the poor transmission of the AV can be observed in the present situation in Gujarat. Atharvaveda Brahmins claiming to belong to the Paippalāda śākhā recite only the first few lines of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā (PS) and then continue reciting the Śaunaka Saṃhitā (ŚS) text.

Why have Gujarati Atharvaveda Brahmins preserved such a complicated oral tradition? The answer must lie in the prestige associated with the Paippalāda śākhā and its text. It is known from important early sources that the Paippalāda was probably the better-known text among the nine śākhā-s of the AV, along with the Mauda School. This fact is supported by epigraphic material that shows that the PS was taught and studied in Gujarat at an early period.¹² When the Paippalāda tradition was lost, the local Atharva Brahmins turned to the only available AV text, namely the Śaunaka Saṃhitā. However, remembering the opening lines of the PS,¹³ they inserted these verses at the beginning of their recitation. The reason must certainly have been the prestigious status associated with this old school. In this manner, the Gujarati Atharva Brahmins continued to study the Atharvaveda, in its Śaunaka text, while at the same time maintaining their historical connection and claim to the Paippalāda School.

In Orissa, where the Śaunaka text was introduced only some 60 years ago,

¹² See Table III, below.

¹³ PS 1.1.1: *śam no devir abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu pītaye / śam yor abhi sravantu nas //*

the situation is slightly different. AV Brahmins recite the text of the PS that has been secondarily learned from manuscripts. The secondary nature of the oral tradition can be seen in the many *lacunae* detected in the recitation, which exactly match the *lacunae* in the available manuscripts from Orissa.

Chronology of Vedic Literature

Absolute dates in Ancient India are extremely difficult to establish before the Muslim incursions in 1030 AD.¹⁴ Dates based on external evidence are few: the Mitanni treaty¹⁵ of 1380 BC; the archaeological attestation of iron, ca. 1150;¹⁶ and the date of the Buddha (486 BC according to Bechert¹⁷). These dates, plus the end of the urban phase of the Indus Civilization around 1900 BC, point to a date of ca. 1500 BC for the earliest hymns of the Rgveda.

One way to approach the problem of absolute dates in Ancient India is to start from our most important source of evidence: the Vedic texts themselves. The traditional Brāhmanic typologies as well as the modern, linguistic-level chronology start out from the same place, the texts. However, the linguistic-level

¹⁴ See Rau (1983) and Mylius (1970).

¹⁵ This well-known Hurrian document mentions the major Rgvedic deities – Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Nāsatyas. For a concise discussion, see Mallory (1989).

¹⁶ See Erdosy (1995).

¹⁷ See Bechert (1982).

typology provides an independent system for checking and counter-checking the traditional typology.

Traditional Indian Typology

The traditional Indian typology classifies and divides Vedic texts into four levels or categories: *samhitā-s*, *brāhmaṇa-s*, *āranyaka-s*, and *upaniṣad-s*.

The *samhitā-s* consist of stanzas and prose mantras that are recited, sung or mumbled during the later, classical Vedic ritual. The *brāhmaṇa-s* contain theological explanations of the meaning of the ritual. The *āranyaka* texts, the so-called “wilderness books,” develop the cosmic side of the *brāhmaṇa* speculations into esoteric explanations of more secret and dangerous rituals and generally serve as a catchall for later texts of each particular school. The *upaniṣad-s* further develop the speculative trend begun in the *brāhmaṇa* texts, making the link between the sacrifice (mesocosm), the cosmos (macrocosm), and the individual (microcosm).

The traditional typology reflects the growth of the literary corpus. *Brāhmaṇa-s* quote from the earlier *samhitā-s*, while *upaniṣad-s* quote from all preceding texts. While this typology helps to establish certain groupings of texts, it fails to provide any sense of clearly identified historical levels. The limits of the traditional analysis have sometimes led to misclassifications that have tended to obfuscate the actual historical levels of the development of the texts.

One example of such chronological confusion has been illustrated by Witzel regarding *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (TĀ).¹⁸ His close study of this text revealed that TĀ is a chronologically composite text. Five sections are clearly identified: (1) a very young TĀ1, originally from the lost *Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa* (KaṭhB); (2) TĀ2 (from another section of the lost KaṭhB) as well as older mantra-s; (3) TĀ 3-6, the brāhmaṇa portion, and core of TĀ, which includes the TĀ treatment of the ancient *pravargya* ritual; (4) TĀ 7-9 = *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 1-3; and (5) TĀ 10, the younger *Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*.

Linguistic-level Chronology

A more secure guide to understanding the historical levels of Vedic texts can be constructed based on the development of Vedic Sanskrit. Five distinct levels of development can be identified: Ṛgveda, Mantra Language, Saṃhitā Prose, Brāhmaṇa Prose, and Sūtra Language.¹⁹

Ṛgveda: The RV stands as a unique example in the development of Vedic Sanskrit that is best characterized as the last stage in the development of Indo-Iranian poetry. The RV shares many features with Old Iranian, especially Avestan, which no longer appear in post-RV literature.

Mantra language: This level includes the mantra-s found in the verse and prose of the Atharvaveda (PS, ŚS), RV Khilās (RVKh), Sāmaveda Saṃhitā (SV) and

¹⁸ See Witzel (1977).

¹⁹ See Narten (1964), Hoffmann (1967), and Witzel (1989a).

Yajurveda Saṃhitā-s (YV). Mantra language is characterized by several developments that distinguish it from the language of the RV. These include the gradual loss of the injunctive, the loss of the allegro forms of $\sqrt{kṛ}$ in non-Rgvedic contexts, and the replacement of *visvā* by *sarva*, which comes to mean both ‘whole’ and ‘all’.

Saṃhitā Prose: The text of the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā (MS), Kāṭha Saṃhitā (KS), Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā (KpS), and Taittirīya Saṃhitā (TS) contain the first examples of expository prose consisting of brāhmaṇa-type explanations of the ritual. The developments that characterize this level include: the complete loss of the injunctive as a living category, the disappearance of the moods of the aorist (subjunctive, optative, and imperative), the development of periphrastic aorist forms, and the gradual breakdown of the distinction of the preterit (imperfect-aorist-perfect).

Brāhmaṇa prose: This level includes the brāhmaṇa-s of all four Vedas, the older upaniṣad-s (BĀU, ChU, JUB, etc.), late additional brāhmaṇa-s (Vādhūla Anvākhyāna, GB), and some older śrautasūtra-s (BŚS, VādhŚS, ŚŚS). Features of this level include the complete loss of the periphrastic aorist, the appearance of compounds like *yat-kāma-* ‘having a particular wish,’ adverbs like *sāyam* ‘in the evening,’ and the appearance of hyper-characterized subjunctives.

Sūtra language: This last level of Vedic language includes the śrautasūtra-s, gṛhyasūtra-s, and the late upaniṣad-s (not of sectarian character) such as Kāṭha Upaniṣad, Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad, etc. These texts are not categorized as Vedic

texts proper in the traditional typological system. For the most, their content rather than language is Vedic. However, a few linguistic indications of this level can be seen in the texts: Epic *v̥mute* < *v̥noti*, neuter pl. in -ā, and the erroneous use of -tvā.²⁰

²⁰ See Tsuji (1977).

THE ATHARVAVEDA

A *Atharvaveda Literature*

The Atharvaveda (AV), the fourth Veda, is distinguished from the *trayī* *vidyā* ‘the threefold wisdom’ – Ṛgveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda – mainly in content. The AV tradition largely represents the popular side of Vedic culture and religion. It contains hymns (spells) for healing of various illnesses, the removal of demons, love-spells, speculative hymns about particular forces of the cosmos – such as *uccisṭa* ‘the remnant,’ *odana* ‘porridge,’ and the *śataudanā* cow ‘the cow with 100-*odana-s*,’ – as well as material relevant to *grhya* ‘domestic’ rituals, such as marriage, initiation, and death.

The AV stands apart from the other three Vedas because it does not treat the subject of *śrauta* or sacred rituals as its main topic. The RV itself does not refer to the atharvan charms by their oldest name, *ātharvāṅgirasa* (ŚS 10.7.20)²¹ or by any other name.²² The position of the AV in *śruti*²³ reflects the other three

²¹ This is the oldest name of the fourth Veda, according to Bloomfield (1899), as found in the heading of the manuscripts of the AV *Samhitā*.

²² A detailed discussion of the position of the AV in Hindu literature can be found in Bloomfield (1899). In the above discussion, only the most important details are highlighted.

²³ *Śruti*, literally ‘hearing’, refers in the later tradition to the “revealed” and divinely inspired texts classified under *saṃhitā*, *brāhmaṇa* and *āraṇyaka*, as

Vedas' preoccupation with matters of sacrifice. Thus, it is no surprise to find the continual mention and exaltation of the *trayī vidyā*, whose main concern is purely ritual.

In RV 10.90.9, the three primeval Vedic categories are mentioned:

*tásmād yajñāt sarvahúta ícaḥ sāmāni jajñire /
chándāmsi jajñire tásmād yájus tásmād ajāyata*

From that sacrifice, a complete offering, the *ṛc-s* and *sāman-s* were born.
The meters were born from that. The *yajus* were born from that.

The Vedic texts are generally mentioned in this order in later literature. Even in the AV itself, the sequence is followed, and when the atharvan text is mentioned it comes last on the list. For example, AV 10.7.20

*yásmād íco apātakṣan yájur yásmād apákasan /
sāmāni yásya lómāny atharvāngiráso múkhām*

From whom they fashioned off the *ṛc-s*, from whom they scraped off
the *yajus*,
whose hair is the *sāman-s* are the hair (and whose) mouth are the
Atharva and Aṅgirasas.

However, when the AV is mentioned in śrauta texts, it is regularly counted as the fourth Veda.²⁴

Like all Vedic literature, the AV has been preserved and transmitted through its various Av śākhā-s. Each branch, or school, has preserved its Veda in

compared to *smṛti* ‘that which is remembered’ texts that have human authors, such as dharmasūtra-s.

²⁴ Bloomfield (1897: xxxi-xxxv).

a nearly identical fashion. Each of the *samhitā-s* and its associated texts (brāhmaṇa-s, prātiśākhya-s, śrautasūtra-s, grhyasūtra-s, etc.) show a clear affinity to one another. Often different schools will preserve certain parts of the tradition identically while showing significant variation elsewhere that distinguishes a particular śākhā as different from another.

The literary tradition²⁵ provides evidence for the existence of the AV in nine śākhā-s: Paippalāda, Taudāyana, Maudāyana, Śaunakīya, Jājala, Jalada, Brahnavada, Devadarśa and Cāraṇavaidya. Of these nine schools, only two have survived, the Śaunakīya (the so-called Vulgate) and the Paippalāda.

Given the existence of these closely related, sister *samhitā-s*, it is remarkable that PS generally agrees, as far as the form of particular words, with the RV rather than with ŚS. However, when ŚS has marked deviations from RV in terms of particular words or phrasing, PS and ŚS generally agree. This general agreement has lead scholars to postulate a Mantra-period collection of typical Atharvavedic material to accounts for the shared grhya material found in both recensions of the AV, and in the RV, especially in its book 10.²⁶ This has lead to

²⁵ Mention is found in the following sources: 1) two Cāraṇavyūha-s: the 5th Pariśiṣṭa of the White YV and the 49th Pariśiṣṭa of the AV; 2) Pāṇini and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and other grammatical literature; 3) reports in Purāṇa-s and other late literature; and 4) incidental statements in AV literature. See Chap. IIA below.

²⁶ The language, content, and arrangement show that RV 10 is a late collection, since these hymns were composed with knowledge of the other books and even

the further supposition of an original “floating mass” of originally atharvan hymns that must have been taken over into the appendix-like RV 10. Forming the outermost frame around the core of the RV collection, book 10 contains material that is often un-Rgvedic in nature when compared to the material contained in the core books 2-7. This material resembles instead the grhya material of PS 18 = ŚS 13-18 and the speculative material of PS 16-17 = ŚS 8-12. The codification of this material in RV 10 is likely to have taken place approximately 300 years before the Mantra-period collection of Atharvavedic material which was probably composed, adapted, and redacted during the Kuru Hegemony.²⁷ Thus, it is to be expected that the RV would contain no references to a collection, which in the Rgvedic period itself had neither been redacted nor yet become canonical.²⁸

Some of this ur-AV material may go back to a tradition of Indo-European

of their order. See Witzel (1995c).

²⁷ Witzel (1997a) associates this period with the realm of the famous Rgvedic King Parikṣit (RVKh 5.10).

²⁸ I use the term ‘canonical’ to refer to the AV being accepted as part of the canon of ritual rather than as part of a larger canon of Vedic literature. There was no single canon or scripture in the Vedic period. There were a number of texts that were accepted as authoritative for each school only. A Taittiriya Brahmin would not accept the Jaiminiya grhyasūtra as the authority text according to which he should perform his domestic rituals. He would only accept the text of his own Taittiriya School, Baudhāyana grhyasūtra as authoritative. The efforts to make the AV seem canonical must be understood in the light of the AV Brahmin priests’ desire to be included in the śrauta ritual as well as their efforts to be *purohita-s*. See Chap. IIF below.

sorcery material, since many of the charms reflect a character shared by similar traditions of IE speaking peoples. The best example is the Germanic incantations based on the tenth-century Merseburg spells. B. Schlerath (1962), K. Zysk (1985), Jamison (1986), and most recently Watkins (1995) have discussed the close relationship between these incantations and the AV charms²⁹ dealing with how to mend broken bones. The second Old High German Merseburg (10th century) spell runs thus:

sose benrenki,
sose bluotrenki,
sose lidirenki.
ben zi bena
bluot zu bluoda,
lid zi geliden:
sose gelimida sin.

As bone-wrench,
so blood-wrench,
so joint-wrench.
bone to bone,
blood to blood,
Joint to joint;
So be they joined³⁰

Similarly in Chamber's fireside stories (1842, p. 37):

²⁹ See ŠS 4.12, 5.5, PS 4.15.

³⁰ Watkins (1995: 523).

his foal's foot righted.
bone to bone,
sinew to sinew,
blood to blood,
flesh to flesh³¹

These two are unmistakably similar in style and language to AV. 4.12.3-4

sám te majjá majñā bhavatu sám u te párusā páruh |
sám te māmsásya vísrastam sám ásthya ápi rohatu ||3||
majjá majñā sám dhíyatám cármanā cárma rohatu |
ásrk te ásthi rohatu māmsám māmséna rohatu ||4||

Let your marrow be united with marrow and (let) your joint (be) united with joint.

Let your torn (piece) of flesh and (your) bone grow together. ||3||

Let the marrow be united with marrow. Let the skin grow with skin.

Let your blood grow with blood (and) let flesh grow with flesh. ||4||

The sets of charms may have originally been used in a healing rite for an injured horse, which prescribed the use of a healing plant. In both the Merseburg spell and the PS 4.15.2, the sinew (*snávan*) is included in the list of parts to be rejoined.

Majjā majñā sam̄ dhíyatám asthnāsthya api rohatu |
Snáva te sam̄ +dadhmas snávnā carmanā carma rohatu ||2||

Let your marrow be put together with marrow. Even let your bone grow with bone.

We put together sinew with sinew. Let skin grow with skin.

³¹ Ibid., 16.

B Survey of Atharvaveda Literature

The survey that follows provides a quick reference to both the well known and lesser known Atharvan literature.

Saṃhitā

Of the nine known saṃhitā-s, only two have survived: the well known Śaunaka Saṃhitā (ŚS) and the older, more venerated Paippalāda Saṃhitā (PS). These two saṃhitā-s are discussed in detail in Chap. ID-E and Chap. II.

Brāhmaṇa

The surviving brāhmaṇa text of the Atharvaveda tradition is the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (GB). This brāhmaṇa is divided into two parts: the pūrva brāhmaṇa and the uttara brāhmaṇa. The uttara brāhmaṇa generally follows the order of the Vaitāna Sūtra (see below). In general, the Vaitāna Sūtra figures as the saṃhitā of the GB, as can be seen from the fact that the mantra-s of the Vaitāna Sūtra are frequently cited in the uttara brāhmaṇa using *pratīka* references. On the other hand, the pūrva brāhmaṇa does not follow the order of the sacrifice according the Vaitāna Sūtra. The subject of the pūrva, especially in the last three sections, seems to be “a statement of the position and beliefs of the Atharvavedins in regard to general aspects of Vedic lore and sacrifice, with the special purpose of defining and glorifying the AV.”³² In other words, its aim is to extol the importance of the

³² Bloomfield (1899: 40).

AV by pointing out the possible negative consequences of carrying out holy rituals without the direct involvement of the Atharvavedin priest, the Brahman.

Even though only the GB has survived, there is evidence, especially in medieval commentaries, which points to the existence of another brāhmaṇa of the AV. The Prapañcaḥṛdaya, an encyclopedic text of ca. 11th century from South India, provides the following statement about the śākhā-s of Vedic schools:

tathātharvāṇike paippalādaśākhāyāṁ mantro viṁśatikāṇḍah | sa tu dvividhah, ṛgyajurmantrabhedena | tatra yajurmantra bahuvidhah | ḥīmantrabhedo dvādśasahasram̄ triśatādikam̄ | tadbrāhmaṇam̄ adhyāyāṣṭakam̄ |³³

Thus, in the Paippalāda branch of the Atharvaveda, the mantra-s are 20 books | Indeed, that (is) the twofold-division with the split of mantra-s as *ṛc-s* and *yaju-s* | Therefore, mantra-s (are) variously divided as *yajus* | The division of mantra-s and *ṛc-s* (is) 12,300. | The brāhmaṇa of that (śākhā) has eight chapters.

In addition, AV Parīṣṭa 49.3.5 provides further information about the GB:

tatra gopathah śataprapāṭhakam̄ brāhmaṇam̄ āsīt | tasyāvaśiṣte dve
brāhmaṇe pūrvam̄ uttaram̄ ceti

There was a Gopatha Brāhmaṇa having 100 *prapāṭhaka-s*. Of that, two brāhmaṇa-s remain, namely the earlier (*pūrva brāhmaṇa*) and the later (*uttara brāhmaṇa*).

This indicates that the original GB was much longer than what has survived.

Taking into consideration the statements above, along with the many borrowings

³³ Śāstri (1915: 21).

from older texts (MS, KS, KB, AB, and the later prominent ŚB)³⁴, M. Witzel (1985a) has suggested that GB is really an *anubrāhmaṇa*³⁵ of the PS.

Āranyakā

There is no surviving āranyakā text of AV. However, the author(s) of AV Pariśīta 49.4 knows an āranyakā text of 6000 lines which belongs to the AV.³⁶ In his commentary to Vedāntasūtra 3.3.25, Śaṅkara also remembers the beginning of a text of the Atharvaveda āranyakā-upaniṣad:

asty ātharvaṇikānām upaniṣadārambhe mantrasamānayaḥ sarvam
pravidhya hr̥dayam pravidhyam dhamanīḥ pravr̥jya śiro 'bhipravr̥jya tridhā
vipṛktah

At the beginning of an upaniṣad of the Ātharvaṇika-s, the following mantra is recorded: ‘having pierced him (the enemy) whole, having pierced his heart; having crushed his veins, having crushed his head; thrice crushed,’ &c.

Śrautasūtra

The surviving śrauta text of the AV is the Vaitāna Sūtra. This text, which according to Bloomfield belongs to the Śaunaka School, is not the product of the ordinary śrauta practices. Rather, it is an intentional product created for the purpose of justifying the Atharvavedins’ claim that the AV, which is in some

³⁴ See Bloomfield (1899: 102-106).

³⁵ An *anubrāhmaṇa* is an additional brāhmaṇa of a larger brāhmaṇa. The term *ānvākhyāna* ‘additional story’ is used in colophons of manuscripts of Vādhūla Brāhmaṇa, for example, which indicates that it is an *anubrāhmaṇa* of TB.

³⁶ AV Pariśīta 49.4: *etad grāmyāranyakāni ṣat sahasrāṇī bhavanti*.

respects superior to the *trayī vidyā* ‘threefold knowledge,’ is part of the “canon.”

The Prapañcaḥṛdaya notes:

paippalādiśākhāprayuktam ātharvanikam saptabhir adhyāyair agastyena pradarśitam³⁷

The Atharvavedin attached to the Paippalāda branch is instructed by the Agastya (sūtra) having seven chapters.

Thus, there is evidence to support a lost śrautasūtra of the Paippalādins, the Agastya Sūtra of seven chapters.

Gṛhyasūtra

The gṛhya representative of the AV is the Kauśika Sūtra (KauŚS). This text deals with typical gṛhya themes such as conception, marriage, death etc., but unlike other gṛhyasūtra-s, these are not the main topic. The KauŚS is rather an account in sūtra form of the practical use of each hymn. The text presupposes the Śaunaka Saṃhitā, but also seems to quote and discuss material and practices originating from the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. Bloomfield categorizes the hymns of the ŚS according to their usage in ritual, as specified by the KauŚS. The relationship between the PS and KauŚS is in need of further study. Kashikar notes that KauŚS forms the *saṃhitāviddhī* of four of the nine AV recensions (Śaunakīya, Aksala, Jalada and Brahnavada).³⁸

The Paippalāda gṛhyasūtra, the Paithīnāsi Gṛhyasūtra, has thus far not

³⁷ Śāstri (1915: 33).

³⁸ Kashikar (1968: 99).

been found. On the basis of his research trip to Orissa in 1983, Witzel suspects that the Paithīnāsi GS is probably to be found in this area, since there are Paippalāda Brahmins who still claim it in their *samkā/pa* statements.

Prātiśākhya

Prātiśākhya-s, along with śiksā-s, deal with the phonetic aspect of specific Vedic texts and their recitation. For the AV, there are two surviving texts - the Atharva Prātiśākhya (APŚ), edited by Surya Kanta (1968), and the Śaunakīya Caturādhyāyikā (CA), edited by Whitney in 1862 and most recently re-edited by M.M. Deshpande (1997). These works provide crucial information as to the phonetic variations allowed within a given school. Deshpande points out that the CA does not belong exclusively to the Śaunakīya śākhā: "When it comes to details, CA openly admits that it deviates from the opinions of Śaunaka, and hence represents the Śaunakīya tradition as it had changed over a period of time."³⁹

Pariśiṣṭa

Pariśiṣṭa-s can best be characterized, following Gonda, as collections of rules concerning the sacrificial utensils used in ritual which also contains other material which is in some manner or another connected with sacrificial ceremonies. According to von Negelein, however, the AV Pariśiṣṭa-s are of great value because they "actually constitute a detailed, valuable and informative survey from the atharvanic point of view of the various kinds of religious practices

³⁹ Deshpande (1997: 88).

in vogue in definite milieus in the late Vedic and early Hindu period.”⁴⁰

According to Witzel (1985a), the collection, which appears to have belonged to the Paippalādins, seems to go back to a single archetype from Gujarat. Some portions of the *pariśiṣṭa* text have also been found in Orissa.⁴¹

Upaniṣads

AV *Pariśiṣṭa* 49.5 lists 27 *upaniṣad*-s that belong to the Atharvaveda.

Deussen (1905) divided the AV Upaniṣad-s into five distinct categories: (1) Pure Vedānta *upaniṣad*-s; (2) *Yoga* *upaniṣad*-s; (3) *Samnyāsa* *upaniṣad*-s; (4) Śiva *upaniṣad*-s; and (5) Viṣṇu Upaniṣad-s. The better known AV *upaniṣad*-s are the *Muṇḍaka*, *Praśna* and *Māṇḍūkya*. The *Nīlarudra* Upaniṣad can now be traced back to its source of origin, namely PS 14.3-4. A study in the history and independent transmission of this short *upaniṣad*, originally part of the *samhitā*, promises to yield valuable information about the history of canon formation beyond the *Veda*.

Other texts

D.M. Bhattacharya (1968) notes the acquisition in Orissa of several unpublished Atharvan Upaniṣad-s as well as several *kalpa* texts of the Paippalāda School – Āṅgirasakalpa, Karmapañjika and Karmasamuccaya. The Āṅgirasakalpa and Karmapañjika contain rites of *grhya* character necessitating only one ritual

⁴⁰ von Negelein (1908: 448).

⁴¹ See Bastiaansen (1986).

fire. In addition to these recent finds, the Atharvaprāyaścittāni edited by von Negelein in 1915 have received very little attention.

C *The Atharva Veda Tradition*

The Atharvaveda (AV), the fourth Veda, has been thought to represent the popular side of Vedic civilization. Compared to the *trayī vidyā* ‘threefold knowledge’, especially the RV, the AV contains material dealing with the healing of disease, and with destructive (black) magic and love magic, as well as materials dealing with life-cycle rituals and early state ritual⁴², together with speculative material. In the words of M. Bloomfield:

The life of the average Arya from the cradle to the funeral-pyre is depicted by the AV with greater freedom and completeness than in the house books...The variety of practices and beliefs connected with house and home, field and cattle, love and marriage, trade and village-politics is also far greater in the AV than in the house books.⁴³

In its two surviving *samhitā*-s, the Atharvaveda opens new vistas into many aspects of the study of Vedic texts, and in particular of the Atharvaveda tradition and Vedic ‘popular’ religion.

A comparison of the two *samhitā*-s, the Paippalāda (PS) and the Śaunaka (ŚS), immediately reveals several interesting features in the history and transmission of these texts. One such feature is the tendency of the PS to be more

⁴² This refers particular to the new material contained particularly in PS 10 and 14.

⁴³ Bloomfield (1899: 6).

archaic, at places even intentionally so, when compared to the ŚŚ and especially to the RV. This can be seen in the PS' preference “proper Rgvedic” forms such as *kṛnoti* and *-toḥ* infinitive vs. younger, more classical forms such as *karoti*, etc. Why is the PS using these older forms when its sister samhitā does not? Are there reasons that explain these choices by the composer-redactors of the PS?⁴⁴

Localization of the Atharva Veda

The AV samhitā-s, which fall into the second level of Vedic literature, the Mantra Language, are texts of the Middle Vedic epoch. These texts were composed in the Kuru-Pañcala area,⁴⁵ between Eastern Panjab and Kausambi/Allahabad. The homeland of the AV can be ascertained from information contained in an important hymn of the AV, the Takman Hymn (PS 12.1-2 = ŚS 5.22).⁴⁶ By the time of their composition and redaction, the well-known tribes of the RV had been replaced by a few major tribes: the central Kuru-Pañcalas, the Kāśi and Aṅga in the east, the Magadha in the southeast, Gandhāri and Mahāvṛṣa in the northwest and the Balhika in the extreme northwest beyond the Hindukush mountains. The eastern fringes known to the PS is Kāśi, while in the ŚS it is Aṅga. From this disagreement, it is clear that the ŚS composer-redactors know an

⁴⁴ See Chap. IIE-F below.

⁴⁵ The geographical outlook of the PS places it slightly more to the west, in the Kuru area.

⁴⁶ See Witzel (1987a).

area much further east on the fringes of the Kosala-Videha territory in Upper Bengal, at the bend of the Gaṅgā. The northern border known to both saṃhitā-s of the AV continues to be the Himalayas, where the foreign (non-*arya*) Kirāṭa people live.

Thus, the AV reflects a shift in the geographic center of Vedic civilization at this time. There has been a move eastward from the Gandhāra/Panjab area to the eastern borders of the Panjab (Kurukṣetra) area and well into Madhyadeśa (modern Haryana and Uttar Pradesh).

Another piece of information that helps to localize the AV is the important mantra found in PS 19.1.5 and ŚŚ 6.98.3, which speaks of the ‘rivers flowing westward.’⁴⁷ The only place in North India where large rivers flow westward is E. Panjab – in the area between the Beas (Vipaś) and the Yamunā, the Himalaya and the Tharr dessert where the Beas, Sarsutī (Ghaghar), etc., flow westward. This was understood by Whitney, who noted in his commentary to the translation of ŚŚ 6.98.3: “This third pāda evidently describes the west; that does not suit the basin of Central India.”⁴⁸

With the help of archeological evidence, it is also possible to approximate the general time when the AV was composed. PS 16.53.12 = AV 13.3.7 and PS

⁴⁷ Cf. MS 4.12.1, KS 8.17, and TS 2.4.14.

⁴⁸ Whitney (1905: 353).

16.97.3 = AV 9.5.4 both mention iron as *sýāma ayas* ‘black metal.’ One of the earliest archeological attestations of iron is at Pirak, Period III, just before 1000 BC.⁴⁹ This information along with the evidence from archeological research, which indicates that iron was brought from Central India,⁵⁰ points to an *ad quem* date of ca. 12th century BC for portions of the AV.

D *Śaunaka Saṃhitā*

The Śaunaka Saṃhitā as available in Roth and Whitney’s edition is the better known and studied of the two schools. The 1856 edition of the ŚS, one of the first Vedic texts to be edited as well as the updated edition by Lindenau (1924), however, still does not offer a complete picture of this tradition.

The AV, as presented in the Roth and Whitney edition, is a text of dubious śākhā affiliation. The reason for this is, first, that Roth and Whitney never had an extant manuscript of the Śaunaka Saṃhitā. In fact, no manuscripts with a colophon stating that it belongs to the Śaunakīya school have been found. Rather, Roth and Whitney were working with manuscripts that in their colophons did not indicate a śākhā affiliation, but only identified them as ‘Atharvaveda’. This ‘Atharvaveda’ text was further obfuscated by Whitney’s use of his Śaunakīyā

⁴⁹ Allchin (1995: 39).

⁵⁰ Ibid., 83.

Caturādhyāyikā (CA) in the process of compiling the edition.⁵¹ To quote Surya Kanta: “What RW (Roth and Whitney) have done in such cases is this, that, either they have ignored the CA authority, adopting the unanimous reading of the Vulgate manuscripts, or they have flouted the Vulgate manuscripts, and followed the former. That this procedure is unscientific needs no emphasis.”⁵²

The result was an edition of an ‘Atharvaveda’ text, which for lack of self-śākhā association has become known as the Vulgate. The edition conceals the true nature of the manuscript tradition by eliminating the tradition’s own peculiarities, or by superimposing the peculiarities of the Śaunaka tradition, as reflected in the CA, or by superimposing standard Vedic grammar.⁵³

The edition itself, one of the first of a Vedic text, is not very user friendly. Rather than listing all variants in the edition, the reader must laboriously collect variant readings from Whitney’s *Index Verborum* and from the critical notes to the translation of the AV. Then, even with these two sources, a complete listing is not

⁵¹ At the time of preparing the edition of the SS, Whitney was in possession of one manuscript of the CA from which he was able to extract a working text. He and Roth used this text as an aid in the preparation of the edition of the AV.

⁵² Suryakanta (1968: 32), parenthesis my own.

⁵³ Standard Vedic grammar refers to Roth and Whitney’s use of Rgvedic grammar at the expense of any grammatical peculiarities that belong to the Śaunaka/Vulgate School. It also simultaneously refers to the wholesale standardization according to the grammatical principles of Pāṇini who lived ca. 500 years after the composition of the AV.

obtained. To achieve a more complete catalog of variants, it is necessary to consult Śāṅkar Pāṇḍurāṇ Pandit's edition of the Vulgate and collect the additional variants he has provided; yet still a complete listing is not available. One would have to go to the original manuscripts or to Whitney's copybook, kept at the Yale University Library, to get an accurate idea of the variants that led to what has been edited.

A stemmatic analysis of the historical relationship of the manuscripts used in the edition of the Vulgate will not be possible until all manuscripts used by Roth and Whitney and Śāṅkar Pāṇḍurāṇ Pandit are re-collated. For the time being, M. Witzel⁵⁴ has done some preliminary studies exploring the relationship among the manuscripts. Based on the colophon (ca. 1431-1700) information, all available manuscripts of the AV, even those found in Nepal, can be traced back, to one to four families of Pañcoli Brahmins of the Abhyantara-Nāgara group of Pāṭan, Saurāṣṭra.

E Contents of the AV in the ŚŚ

The material found in the 730 hymns of the ŚŚ is a largely untapped source for the material culture, customs and beliefs, and desires and sorrows of the Vedic people. Bloomfield (1899) grouped the material into ten categories following

⁵⁴ See Witzel (1985a: 264-65) and Deshpande (1997: 95).

their use according to the KauśS.⁵⁵ The class name and a brief description of the contents follow below.

Class I **Bhaiṣajyāni**: Charms to cure diseases and possession by demons. Under this group, we find hymns dealing with *takman* ‘fever’, *yaksma* ‘consumption or tuberculosis’, *āsrāva* ‘bodily discharge of fluids’, and *apacit* ‘rash with pustules’.

Class II **Āyuṣyāni**: Prayers for long life and health. The common denominator of these hymns is the desire to secure life until the ideal old age (100 years). For this, Yama, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Nirṛti, and other deities associated with death are showered with politeness and obeisance.

Class III **Ābhicārikāni** and **Kṛtyāpratihaṇāni**: Spells against demons, sorcerers, and enemies. The sorcery spells that fall under this category are more offensive in nature than defensive or retaliatory.

Class IV **Strīkarmāni**: Charms and spells pertaining to women. The material included in this category focuses on the most important events of a woman’s life: marriage, conception, and childbirth. Sorcery charms designed to eliminate co-wives or rivals are included under this class.

⁵⁵ In his introduction to the translation of the AV, Bloomfield (1897) originally divided the AV hymns into 10 categories. By the time of his 1899 monograph, he expanded the categories to 14. Categories 11-14 seem, in general, to be materials that stand on their own as complete individual units in ŚŚ; namely, class 12, the Rohita hymns, class 13, ŚŚ Book 20, and class 14, the Kuntapa hymns. Class 11, ritualistic and general hymns along with Rohita and Kuntapa material probably belongs under the category of class 6, Rājākarmāni.

Class V Sāmmanasyāni: Charms to secure harmony in various situations. The common theme is harmony from the point of view of the person practicing the spell or charm. Topics include the stilling of wrath and discord, the establishment of harmony between contending persons or parties, and superiority in social and political life, etc.

Class VI Rājakarmāni: Hymns pertaining to royalty and royal rituals. These hymns deal with royal consecration, the development and enlargement of the king's empire and influence, and the defense of the king. These hymns aim to endow the king's *purohita* 'house priest' with the necessary magical powers to effectively function as the prime coadjutor of the king. In this context, it is important to keep in mind that it was the aim of the Atharvavedins, and the Paippalādins in particular, to become *purohita-s*. See Chap. IIF below.

Class VII Charms and spells in the interest of Brahmins: This class of hymns stresses the claims and interests of the AV Brahmins. These hymns point out the inviolability of Brahmins, who had given themselves the title *deva* 'god'.⁵⁶ The hymns also deal at length with the importance of *dakṣinā* or sacrificial fee given Brahmins.

Class VIII Pauṣṭikāni: Charms to secure prosperity and freedom from danger. Hymns in this category have as their focus house and home, field and river, grain

⁵⁶ See ŚŚ 1.2.38, 3.3.36, and 6.13.1.

and rain, cattle and horses, trading and gambling, journeying and returning, serpents and vermin. Above all, these hymns give voice to the Vedic desire for wealth, progeny, and exemption and protection from calamity and danger.

Class IX Prāyaścittāni: The hymns of this category are used to correct irregularities and misfortunes both in the personal and ritual sphere.

Class X Cosmogony and theosophical hymns: These hymns focus on pre-philosophical or theological speculation about key concepts or forces of Vedic religion such as *skambha* ‘pillar’, *odana* ‘rice porridge’, *ucchisṭa* ‘ritual remnant’, the cow, and the *brāhmačārin* ‘veda-student’.

THE PAIPPALĀDA SCHOOL

A *Textual Sources*

The Paippalāda tradition is one of the nine śākhā-s or schools of the Atharvaveda. Several sources report on the existence of multiple AV śākhā-s. The Yajurveda Caraṇavyūha, the fifth Pariśiṣṭa of the White Yajur Veda, mentions the names of the AV śākhā-s:

atharvavedasya nava bhedā bhavanti nava śākhā bhavantīty arthaḥ | tān
āha – paippalā, dāntā, pradāntā, dāntā, autā, jābālā, śaunakā,
brahmapalāśā, kunakhīvedadaśīm, cāraṇavidyāśceti⁵⁷

Of the Atharvaveda, there are nine different ones. That is, there are nine schools. | They call them: paippala, pradānta, dānta, auta, jābāla, śaunaka, brahmapalāśa, kunakhīvedadaśi and cāraṇavidya.

The AV Caraṇavyūha, AV Pariśiṣṭa 49.4.1, provides a complete list of the AV śākhā-s:

tatra brahmavedasya nava bhedā bhavanti | tad yathā | paippalādāḥ |
staudāḥ | maudāḥ | śaunakiyāḥ | jājalāḥ | jaladāḥ | brahmavadāḥ |
devadarśāḥ | cāraṇavaidyāś ceti |

Thus, there are nine divisions of the brahmaveda, as here follows:
paippalāda, stauda, mauda, śaunaka, jājala, jalada, brahmavada, devadarśa
and cāraṇavaidya.

Although these pariśiṣṭa-s do not agree as to the exact names of the different śākhā-s of the AV, they attest that multiple schools were known. Furthermore,

⁵⁷ Śastri (1938: 47).

some of the śākhā-s – Paippalāda, Śaunaka, and Cāraṇavidya – were known by the same name by both pariśiṣṭā-s.

We get independent confirmation of the existence of AV śākhā-s from a non-Vedic source, namely the *Divyāvadāna*, an early Buddhist text dated to ca. 265 AD.⁵⁸ The relevant texts read:

atharvanikānām mate mantrāḥ sarve te 'tharvanikāḥ kratur eko bhūtvā dvidhā bhinnam dvidhā bhūtvā caturdhā bhinnam caturdhā bhūtvā aṣṭadhā bhinnam aṣṭadhā bhūtvā daśadhā bhinnā ityam brāhmaṇātharvanikānām śākhā kratur eko daśadhā bhinnāḥ

In the opinion of those versed in the Atharvaveda, all the mantras were thought as Atharvana. Being one plan/design, it was divided in two. Being two, it was divided into four. Being four, it was divided into eight. Being eight, it was divided into 10. The single plan/design, a branch of the atharvan Brahmins was divided into ten.

Although not a clear list, two important facts emerge. First, the author has knowledge that there is a division into śākhā of the Vedas. Secondly, although he has knowledge of the division of the AV schools, the information about these schools is not well known to the author; thus he is lead to make the statement about the 10 schools of the AV.

However, it is Patañjali (ca. 150 BC) in his *Mahābhāṣya*, who provides not only the earliest information about the śākhā-s of the AV, but also specific information about the Paippalāda School, which can be dated with some degree

⁵⁸ The information about the AV schools comes from a late manuscript from Nepal dated to 1873. The *Divyāvadāna* was translated into Chinese in the third century. Older manuscripts do not have this section.

of certainty. In Patañjali's testimony, the AV figures as one of the four Vedas rather than being referred to as "the Veda which is outside of the *traiyi vidyā*", as it is usually referred to in texts of the YV school. The relevant passage is MBh I 1.4:

vaidikāḥ khalv api | śām no devīr abhiṣṭaye | iṣe tvorjé tvā | agním īle
puróhitam | agna áyāhi vītāya iti ||

Vedic words are indeed: śām no devīr abhiṣṭaye | iṣe tvorjé tvā | agním
īle puróhitam | agna áyāhi vītāya iti ||

The important point to note is that the AV is placed at the head of the Veda, AV-YV-RV-SV, as opposed to the expected order, which should have been RV-SV-YV-AV or RV-YV-SV-AV, both with RV at the head of the list.⁵⁹ Most importantly, the text quoted as the opening line of the AV is the first verse of the Paippalāda Samhitā, *sām no devīr abhiṣṭaye* (PS 1.1.1 = ŚS 1.6.1) rather than the opening verse of the ŚS *yé triṣaptāḥ paryanti viśvā rūpāṇī bībhṛatāḥ*. This shows that the AV as known by Patañjali was the PS rather than ŚS.

In MBh I 9.21, Patañjali speaks about the *sākhā* division within each Veda:

Catvāro vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ sarahasyā bahudhā vibhinnā ekaśatam
adhvaryuśākhāḥ sahasravartmā sāmaveda ekavimśatidhā bāhvṛcyam
navadhātharvaṇo vedo

The four Vedas, along with the supplements along with the secret doctrines are divided in many ways. The adhvaryu-schools are 100. The Sāmaveda has 1000 paths. The Bāhvṛca is twenty-one fold. The Atharvaveda is nine-fold.

⁵⁹ See p. 24 above.

It is clear from Patañjali's statement that by his time the AV was known to have nine schools. Therefore, Patañjali knew of at least two of the nine śākhā-s of the AV, Mauda, and Paippalāda, based on other evidence from the MBh.⁶⁰ The other schools must have been long forgotten by his time or were not known in his area. Although it is unlikely that the Mauda text is identical with the Śaunaka Samhitā, it is quite possible that it is our Atharvaveda Samhitā Vulgate as represented in the Roth and Whitney edition.⁶¹ What is clear is that it was the PS and not ŚS that was the better-known and more prestigious śākhā of the AV at the time of Patañjali.

B *Epigraphic Evidence*

The study of AV Brahmins in the vast corpus of inscriptions available has been largely ignored, except for the few inscription noted by D.M. Bhattacharya (1964, 1968). Witzel (1985a) has collected some information that provides a glimpse into the geographical spread of the Atharvavedins in history.⁶²

Table I below provides basic data regarding some of the most important epigraphic evidence collected by Witzel pointing to the existence of AV Brahmins

⁶⁰ See Patañjali on P 4.1.1, 4.1.86, 4.2.104, 4.3.101, 4.3.120, and 4.2.66 where Mauda and Paippalāda are mentioned.

⁶¹ The Śaunaka Samhitā is quoted only once in the discussion of P 4.2.66.

⁶² Witzel (1985a) provides a few examples of the epigraphic evidence. The majority of the material is contained in Witzel's unpublished notes, which I was

and the study of the AV in the medieval period. It is to be noted that evidence for AV Brahmins and for the study of the AV during the medieval period is not frequent, considering that some dharmasūtra texts⁶³ stress that the purohita should be an Atharvavedin.

able to examine.

⁶³ See GautamaDhS 11.15.17, YājñavalkyaDhS 1.312 and MānavaDhS 11.33. See Chap. IIF below.

Table I
Summary of some epigraphic data obtained by M. Witzel.

Date	Inscription	Information
Early 5 th cent.	Tirodi inscription of the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena II	A donation in the Bālāghat District of Nagpur made to an Atharvaveda Brahmin.
End of 4 th / early 5 th cent.	Vāśim plates of King Vidhyaśakti II	Indicates that the study of the AV, and probably the PS, was found in the Central India (Nagpur) area.
Valabhī Samvat 207 = 526 AD	Kukkada plate of the Maitraka King Dhruvasena I of Valabhī	The plate mentions “ <i>atharvaṇabrahmacārin-s</i> ” in the Saurāṣṭra area.
5 th cent.	Kaira plates of the Gujarati King Dadda II	Plate mentions AV Brahmins of the Paippalāda <i>carana</i> ⁶⁴ in the village Sirisapadra, Akurua Visaya.
545 AD	Sangoli plates of the Kandabha King Harivarman	Mentions a comparatively large settlement of AV Brahmins in N. Karnataka.
Valabhī Samvat 252 = 571 AD	Bhādva plate of Maitra King Dharasena II	Land grant to a Brahmin of the Kauśravasa <i>gotra</i> , an AV <i>gotra</i> of Anartapura.
8 th year of the reign of Bhaumakara ca. 795 AD	Neulpur grant of the Bhaumakara King Śubhākaradeva	This is the only grant found so far which clearly indicates the presence of AV Brahmins in Orissa. The village mentioned is located north of the River Vaitaranī, near Jajpur.
ca. 1055-90	Belvā plates of Vigrahapala III	Mentions the Paippalādins in a list of grantees.
1151/52 AD	Sakhigopala inscription in the Puri District of Orissa	Mentions land given to 73 Brahmins belonging to 4 <i>caranas</i> .
12 th cent.	Madhainaga plates of king Laksamanasena	A grant from Bengal that shows that Paippalāda study was continuing under the protection of the Sena dynasty.

⁶⁴ It is to be noted that in Orissa *carana* is used for one of the Vedas, as against *sākhā*, the recension of a particular Veda.

Based on his study of the epigraphic evidence of AV settlements and schools, Witzel has tentatively concluded that the Gujarat area was probably the homeland of the present Paippalāda Saṃhitā. From there, it was carried, as AV Brahmins moved across the continent, to the areas where it has survived, namely Kashmir and Orissa. The Bengal and Orissa Paippalādins probably emigrated from the Nagpur area in ca. 11th century. The Kashmir tradition was introduced probably at an earlier point in time when Early Nāgarī/Late Gupta script was still in use. This can be seen from the series of copying errors based on the script which point to an Early Nāgarī/Late Gupta written archetype. These conclusions are tentative as new epigraphic material may shed new light in the distribution of the settlement patterns of Veda schools.

C *Medieval History*

By far the most important medieval source of information about the Paippalāda Saṃhitā's history is Jonarāja's *Rājataranginī*. In some manuscripts, the text includes a story that describes how the PS was imported, or rather re-imported, into the Kashmir Valley from Karnātaka by the teacher Yuddhabhaṭṭa during the reign of Zain-ul-Ābidīn (r. 1419/20-1470). The relevant text is 1267-1274 from Bombay MS (S₆):

tripañcāṅgamite varṣavṛnde yāte kaleḥ kila |
atharvakauśalād droṇo raṇam kurubalair vyadhāt |||
kurubhir nihate droṇe tad ātharvā nirāśrayah |
śaraṇikṛtavān vedah karnātān paṭucetanān |||
śāstreśv atharvavedasya māhātmyam paripaśyatām |
kāśmīrikāṇam tatprāptyai ciram āśin manorathah |||
kāle 'tha vipule yāte sūhabhaṭṭabhayākulah |
yuddhabhaṭṭābhidho mānī deśāntaram agād gunī |||

yajuṣah paṭhanāt prītaiḥ karṇātaiḥ so 'tha pāṭhitah |
 sarahasyam atharvāṇam nijām pratyāgato bhuvam, ||
 śrī jainollābhadenasya gunino gunarāgiṇah |
 upadikṛtya tam vedam parām tuṣṭim ajījanat, ||
 dattasva kīyavastrānnah Śiryabhaṭṭo 'tha dharmavit, |
 tenaivātharvavedam tam dvijaputrān apāthayat, ||
 sā dharmiṣṭhā tu śālā 'sya śiryabhaṭṭasya dhīmataḥ |
 karṇātānām api param agamat sprhaṇīyatām, ||

Indeed, when 35 years of the Kali (*yuga*) passed, because of his skill with the Atharvaveda, Drona diffused the battle with the forces of the Kurus ||

When Drona was struck down by the Kurus, then the Atharva (Veda) was without support. The Veda made the Karnata-s its protector, who have sharp minds||

Seeing the greatness of the Atharvaveda among the sacred books, among the Kashmiris for a long time, there was a wish to obtain it ||

When a long time had passed, filled with fear of Sūhabhaṭṭa, (a man) named Yuddhabhaṭṭa, the wise and virtuous, went to another country ||

Then, it (the Atharvaveda) was recited by the Karnatas-s who were delighted because of his (Yuddhabhaṭṭa) recitation of the Yajus. He returned the Atharvaveda together with the secret doctrine to his own country ||

Having offered this Veda first, as the best, to Śrī Zain-ul-Ābidīn who has good qualities and delights in good qualities, he delighted him highly||

Then Śiryabhaṭṭa, who has knowledge of dharma, having granted his own clothes and food, caused the Atharvaveda to be taught to the sons of the twice-born by that one (Yuddhabhaṭṭa) ||

The religious hall of the wise Śiryabhaṭṭa later became the envy of even the Karnataka-s| |

Srikanth Kaul has identified this portion of text as an insertion. These lines were inserted in manuscripts D, B and S₆ after line 945.⁶⁵ Kaul notes that this passage is found on a separate leaf that has been inserted between verses 945 and

⁶⁵ Kaul (1967: 171).

946 in D, B, and S₆. To quote Kaul:

There are indications, which enable us to fix the year when the redactor fabricated the longer recession. The insertion 6* refers to the Tsak dynasty. Since Jonarāja died in 1459 (§55) and the tribe of the Tsaks captured the throne of Kashmir in 1561 AD, so he is not expected to report prophetically that the scions of the Laṅkāra Cakka (Tsak) will rule Kashmir. Further it will be mentioned in a later context (§34) that the longer recension of Jonarāja's work formed a part of the Rājatarāṅginī-manuscript which was presented to Akbar when he visited Kashmir for the first time in 1588 AD. These indications reasonably enable us to conclude that the longer recension was fabricated between the years 1561 and 1588 AD as there is no evidence to prove its existence before the occupation of Kashmir by Akbar. Therefore, it is evident that the longer recession was fabricated in 1588 AD for presenting it to Akbar, who had it translated into Persian.⁶⁶

The insertion seems to have been strategically placed within the narrative regarding the building activities of Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn).⁶⁷ Along with other insertions found in the above-mentioned manuscripts, this story praises the glory of Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn's reign. Other passages speak of his tolerance towards Hinduism as well as his efforts to import arts and crafts into Kashmir. The text particularly praises the efforts to re-introduce Brahmanic literature that was lost under the persecutions by Sūhabhaṭṭa during 1389-1419.

The interpolations were created and inserted in the manuscripts at the time when the historical works of Kashmir were translated into Persian for Akbar (b. 1542-1605) after his visit to Kashmir in 1588. Following the brutal oppression

⁶⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 17.

under the Cak Dynasty, a return to a more tolerant Muslim regime under the Mughals, and Akbar in particular, must have surely stimulated memories of the ‘golden age’ under Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn. This must have led Brahmins translating these works into Persian to include accounts that portrayed Muslim rulers as more tolerant and friendly than the previous dynasty in order to gain favor from the new ruling dynasty. According to Kaul, the translator made this perfectly plain by “attributing the patronage of Vedic studies by Śīrya Bhaṭṭa to Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn (PT., MS. p. 64a), the interpreters aim at exerting influence upon the contemporary Mughal rulers.”⁶⁸

The historical context of the insertion is clarified by the historical facts mentioned at the end of the insertion:

B 1277	yasminn <u>ādama khān-</u> ākhye jyeṣṭe putre ’pi bhūpatih aprasanno vidagdhataḥīnaiḥ sambhāvitaś ciram
B 1278	<u>hājya khān-</u> ādi putrebhyo viśoṣād vihitādarah vibhāsitaḥ sa rājñā ’pi tilako madhunā yathā ⁶⁹

According to Śrīvara, the author of the Jaina-Rājataranginī, Jonarāja died in samvat [45] 35 or 1459 AD. At this time, Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn was at the height of his glory. Jonarāja mentions the birth of his sons Adam Khan, Haji Khan, Jasrath Khan, and Bahram Khan. With this information, the context of the story can be dated to a possible *terminus ad quem* of 1459.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 21.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 174.

Based on the historical information provided by the Rājatarāṅginī, the re-introduction of the PS must have taken place during Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn’s reign (1420-1489). Then the predecessor of the Tübingen birch-bark manuscript can be dated with fair certainty to the earliest days of Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn’s reign. This hypothesis fits nicely with the date calculated from the colophon of the Tübingen birch-bark manuscript: Friday, December 15, 1419, and the evidence gathered from the manuscript that shows traces of having been transcribed from a much older, Early Nāgarī original. See below Chap. IIID-H.

D Recent Information

After the above-discussed story of how the Paippalāda Saṃhitā was reintroduced into Kashmir, no information was available about the Paippalāda tradition in Kashmir until 1830’s. It is around this time that Baron von Hügel spent an extended period in Kashmir. It is in his *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* (1845) that we find a mention that in Kashmir, “the Rig Veda and Atterman Veda” are studied. Following that, the next news regarding the PS is the discovery of the birch bark manuscript at the Library of the King of Jammu and Kashmir in 1873 by Roth.

In this century, information about the PS tradition in Kashmir has been almost non-existent. M. Witzel has provided the most direct information available. During a research trips to Kashmir in 1973 and 1979, he learned from a Śrinagar informant who had undertaken several exploratory trips in Kashmir for D.M. Bhattacharya that no remnants of the Paippalāda tradition were to be found

in the area. The only exception was a partial copy of a PS manuscript in the informant's possession. From Gujarat, there is similarly scanty evidence to be noted. Bühler (1877) notes that Atharvavedins in Gujarat refer to themselves as Paippalādins even though they study the Śaunaka/Vulgate.⁷⁰

Our information about the Paippalāda tradition in Orissa has come from three main sources. First, J.N. Bhattacharya's *Hindu Castes and Sects* (1864), who speaks of the 'degraded Brahmins' of Orissa:

Besides the good Srotriyas and Mahajanpanthis there are in Orissa, as in every other part of the country, some classes of inferior Brahmins who are regarded as more or less degraded. One of these classes is called Atharva Vedi. There may be inter-marriage between the followers of Rik, Sham and Yajus, but not between these and the Atharva Vedis.⁷¹

The second source of information regarding the Paippalādins and their tradition comes from the published articles by D. M. Bhattacharya as well as from the introduction to his edition of PS 1-5. From these materials, it seems that Paippalādins are concentrated in villages in Northern Orissa as well as in some immediate areas across the border in neighboring Bihar and West Bengal and in some districts of Balasore and Puri.

The third source of information about the Paippalāda tradition in Orissa has come from field research by scholars working in this area. In 1983, M. Witzel

⁷⁰ See pp. 17-18 above.

⁷¹ J. N. Bhattacharya (1896: 50).

visited Orissa for the expressed purpose of searching for additional manuscripts of the PS. During his visit, he obtained additional manuscripts as well as recordings of the PS recitation. In addition, since early 1999, Arlo Griffith from Leiden has been doing field research in Orissa. He reports having found another complete manuscript of the PS from central Orissa.⁷² This discovery now provides evidence for the spread of the PS and its associated tradition throughout the whole of Orissa.

E *The Paippalāda Samhitā: Arrangement and Content*

The arrangement of the PS is best understood when compared to that of ŚS. However, it is important to keep in mind that since the whole of the PS has not yet been edited,⁷³ conclusions as to the exactness of the comparative arrangement of the two *samhitā*-s must be necessarily provisional in nature.⁷⁴

The PS and ŚS do not differ much in content, sharing much of the same sorcery, speculative and *grhya* material. Of the material shared between the two *samhitā*-s, approximately 75% is identical. However, the PS contains much more

⁷² Personal communication with Michael Witzel, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, June 1999.

⁷³ PS 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 remain unedited. I hope to be able to return to the PS in the future to continue working on the unedited portions of the text.

⁷⁴ For a detailed comparison see Zehnder (1999) who has provided a detailed comparative arrangement of the PS based for PS 1-15 on the recently published edition of D. Bhattacharya (1997). His comparative arrangement for PS 16-20,

material than ŚS. According to D. Bhattacharya (1997), the PS contains an estimated 923 hymns vs. Śaunaka's 730.

D. Bhattacharya has estimated this number based on Barret's count of stanzas and hymns in Kā, and his own counting of the verses and hymns in the Orissa manuscripts. Orissa has 923 hymns whereas Kā only contains 825. A majority of the missing hymns in Kā can be accounted for by the exclusion of a portion of PS 18 dealing with death, a subject considered too inauspicious by Kashmiris to include in their text. This is made even clearer by Kā's inclusion of ŚS 18.4.89 as the last stanza of PS 18. As noted by Barret, Kā's inclusion of ŚS 18.4.89 is "an acknowledgement that all of ŚS Book 18 is regarded as part of the Pāipp text."⁷⁵

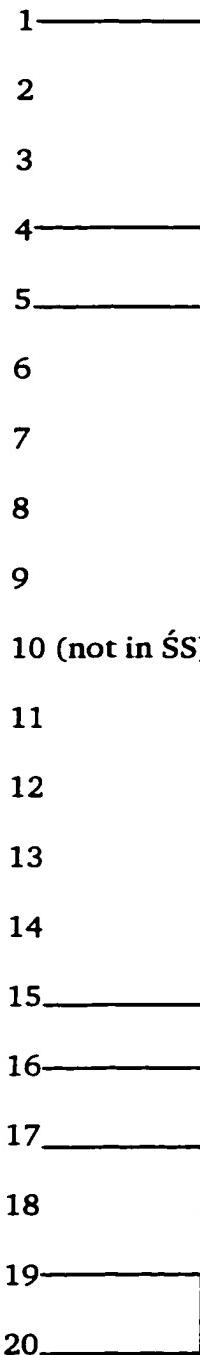
ŚS 1-5 and PS 1-4 correspond to one another in content but not in the hymn arrangement throughout the kāṇḍa. General sorcery material found throughout ŚS is found for the most part in PS 5-15. The *ṛtca* collections in ŚS 6 and 7 are found in PS 19. Śaunaka material dealing with specific major topics, such as ritual, speculative material, and cosmological and cosmogonic hymns collected in ŚS 8-12, is found for the most part in PS 16-17. The *grhya* material including marriage and funeral hymns as well as *vrātya* and the *rohita* hymns;

however, is still based only on the material available from PSK.

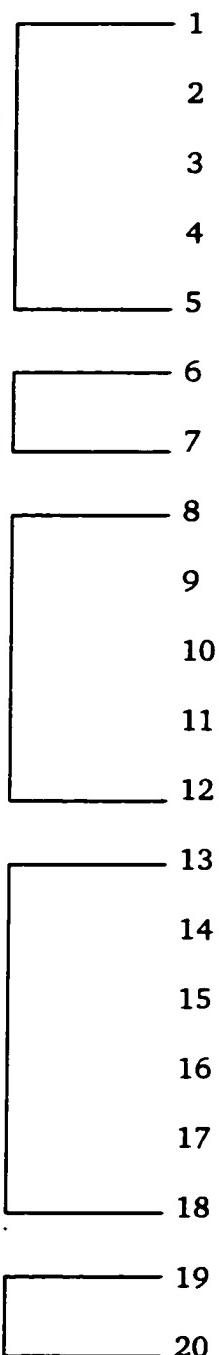
⁷⁵ Barret (1926: 572).

contained in ŠS 13-18 is found in PS 18. Figure I illustrates the relative arrangement of the two *samhitā*-s.

Paippalāda Samhitā



Śaunaka Samhitā



Contains
other basic
sorcery
material that
is distributed
throughout
SS.

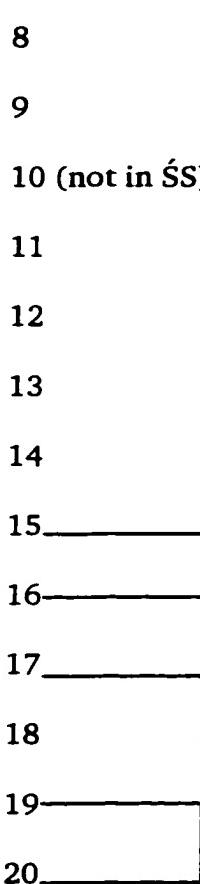


Figure I: The arrangement of PS books and how they are generally distributed in the SS.

What can be seen from this scheme is that both of our *samhitā*-s must have been formed from an Ur-collection that consisted of four large sections:

I	Sorcery material	PS 1-15	ŚS 1-7
II	Speculative material	PS 16-17	ŚS 8-12
III	<i>Grhya</i> and Royal Ritual	PS 18	ŚS 13-18
IV	Additional material	PS 19-20	ŚS 19-20

According to Witzel (1997a), the core of this collection, found in PS 1-4 and ŚS 1-5, contains the basic sorcery material of AV literature, to which speculative and the *grhya* materials were added. A comparison of similar *grhya*-type material, as well as speculative material found in RV 10, leads to the conclusion that the core of this collection must have been part of a Mantra-period collection of typically Atharvavedic material.

Through comparison of the two AV *samhitā*-s, other interesting facts emerge: the general agreement in terms of vocabulary and grammar of the PS with the RV, rather than the expected close parallelism with ŚS. This lends further support to the idea of a floating Mantra-period collection of typical AV material from which the AV hymns were taken.⁷⁶ In his studies on the development of the Vedic canon, Witzel (1997a), points out the key supportive evidence:

⁷⁶ See above Introduction B above.

If PS had taken over these hymns from ŚŚ, it would have conserved them in ŚŚ form and hardly have ‘corrected’ them according to the RV. However, wherever ŚŚ has genuine deviations from the RV, such as a change of words, new or variant phrasing, or insertion of complete *pādas* and stanzas, PS generally agrees with ŚŚ (and thus with the Ur-Av); here it does not follow the RV.⁷⁷

The AV’s inherent tendency to be “like, if not better” than the RV is reflected also in the arrangement within books in the PS when compared to the well-known arrangement of the RV. This is again especially visible in the core books of the PS, namely PS 1-15. The Rgvedic arrangement in terms of the length of hymns is reversed in the PS. The redactors of the RV have arranged the hymns within each family book in descending order, beginning with the longer hymns within each deity collection. The PS takes the opposite approach, ordering original hymns within each collection in a generally ascending order and beginning each book with the shorter hymns. Thus, book 1 opens with hymns of 4 verses and each successive book, up to book 15, opens with hymns of $X + 4$ verses where X is the number of the book.

Beginning with book 11, the Orissa manuscripts of the PS divide the original hymns of $X + 4$ into a 10 + Y arrangement. Thus, an original hymn of 15 verses is divided into hymns, one of 10 verses and the other of 5 verses. This arrangement is maintained in books 11-15. Book 16 follows the pattern strictly. Book 17, however, follows the pattern with some breaks. PS 16 further breaks

⁷⁷ Witzel (1997a: 276-77).

the arrangement pattern by its very size, 3771 verses arranged in 155 hymns.

This huge block must certainly be an insertion.

That the PS, especially in the Orissa manuscripts, preserves the original arrangement as noted above is made clear by statements made at the end of each book. At the end of books 13 and 14, the manuscripts have the following statements:

- 13 Kā: ity atharvanikapaippalādāyāś śākhāyām trayodaśas kāṇḍas
samāptah
Mā₁: ṣoḍaśarcacakāṇḍah
Ma₂: ṣoḍaśarcacakāṇḍah
Pa: iti paippalādasamhitāyām ṣoḍaśarcayornām- (13) trayodaśakāṇḍah
Gu: iti ṣoḍaśarcacakāṇḍah samāptah.
- 14 Kā: ity atharvanikapaippalādāyāś śākhāyām caturdaśah kāṇḍas
Mā₁: saptadaśarcacakāṇḍah samāptah
Ma₂: saptadaśarcacakāṇḍah
Pa: iti paippalādasamhitāyām saptadaśarcayornām 14rddha kāṇḍah
samāpta
Gu: iti saptadaśarcacakāṇḍah samāpta

These statements, especially in the Orissa manuscripts, indicate that the hymns of books 13 and 14 are 16 and 17 stanzas in length, respectively. The arrangement in Kā is not systematic and in many books, we find hymns that belong in other books according to the original PS arrangement as preserved by the Orissa tradition.

The style and grammar of the PS collection also betrays the redactors' effort to mimic the RV. In their efforts to present themselves as uniquely qualified to serve as purohita-s, the composers-redactors of the PS favored the more antiquated language of the RV in their collection. This is reflected by the PS's usage of such forms as *kṛnoti* and *kṛnu* versus the ŚŚ usage of the younger *karoti*

and *kuru* forms, as well as other features such as the still relatively frequent use of the old, Ṛgvedic Nom. pl. m. -ā as well as the Inst. sg. m. -ā. Even more obvious is the PS use of the ‘hypercorrect’ form *kṛṣṇa* against *kaṇva* in the ŚŚ and the RV.⁷⁸ This hypercorrect form, which has been correctly reconstructed by the PS composers-redactors, is found only in PS. In the older RV, one already finds the younger form, *kaṇva*. Thus, in this instance, the PS composer-redactors apparently want to be purposely more correct, more archaic than the RV.

F The office of the Purohita and the Paippalāda Saṃhitā

The grammar, style, and arrangement betray some of the well-thought out intentions of the composer-redactors of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. In addition to typical atharvic material (sorcery mantra-s, speculative hymns, and grhya material) Paippalāda composer-redactors included crucial new ritual material that ensured their prestigious status under the Kuru Hegemony. The collection of royal consecration material contained in book 10 aims to provide the king with a consecration or coronation ritual in the form of an archaic *sava*, an unction ritual inserted into the standard Soma ritual. The placement of this collection, which is not found in the ŚŚ, at the center of the PS collection highlights the Paippalādins’ efforts to provide a unique service for the king. In addition to access to sorcery material – typical atharvic material –, which could be directed against enemies,

⁷⁸ See Hoffmann (1940).

the Paippalādin's aim seems to have been to provide the king with new solemn, state ritual. This new Paippalāda ritual in turn would require that a Paippalādins become the king's *purohita*, or house priest.

The agenda of having Atharvavedin priests occupy the important office of purohita is present throughout Atharvaveda literature. KauśS 94.2-4 brings this point home:

tatra rājā bhūmipatir vidvāmsam brahmāṇam ichet | 2 |
eṣa ha vai vidvān yad bhṛgvaṅgirovit | 3 |
ete ha vā asya sarvasya śamayitārah pālayitāro yad bhṛgvaṅgirasah | 4 |

Then, a king, who is the lord of the country, should seek a knowing
Brahman | 2 |

For indeed, he is knowing that has knowledge of the *bhṛgu-s* and
āngirasa-s | 3 |

For indeed, those which are *bhṛgu-s* and *āngirasa-s*, those are protectors,
the extinguishers of all of this | 4 |

Similarly, AV Pariśiṣṭa 4.6:

yasya rājño janapade atharvā śāntipāragah |
nivasaty api tad rāṣṭram vardhate nirupadravam || 1 ||
yasya rājño janapade sa nāsti vividhair bhayaiḥ |
piḍyate tasya tad rāṣṭram painke gaur iva majjati || 2 ||
tasmod rāja višeṣena atharvāṇam jitendriyam |
dānasamāṁmānasatkārair nityam samabhipūjayate || 3 ||

In the country of which king an Atharvan (priest) who is a master of
pacifying-rites inhabits, that peaceful realm surely increases || 1 ||
In the country of which king there is not (an Atharvan priest), that realm of
his is oppressed with various fears like a cow sinks in the mud || 2 ||
Therefore, a king with excellence honors one among the Atharvan (priests)
who has conquered his senses with gifts, constantly, with respect
and hospitality || 3 ||

The protection and well being of the king is inextricably linked to the sorcery
material that is the property of AV Brahmans.

However, the call for Atharvavedins to be purohita-s is not restricted to AV

texts. Texts of other Vedas recognize that the ability to handle the magical spells of the AV is crucial to the well being of the king and the kingdom. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.24-28 follows this opinion. While not stating directly that a purohita should be an Atharvavedin, it makes it clear that a Brāhmaṇa should have knowledge of *brahmaṇah parimāra*, the magical rites designed to kill hostile kings.⁷⁹

This recognition goes beyond Vedic texts proper. Later dharma texts lay down a rule that the purohita must be an Atharvavedin. Yājñavālkya Dharmasūtra I.312:

purohitam prakurvīta daivajñam uditoditam, |
daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalam atharvāṅgiraso tathā ||

He should appoint a purohita who knows man's destiny, learned in the administration of justice, and conversant with atharvan and aṅgirasas.

Similarly, Mānava Dharmaśāstra 11.33 notes:

śrutīr atharvāṅgirasīḥ kuryād ity avicārayan, |
vākṣastram vai brāhmaṇasya tena hanyād arīn dvijah ||

He should use (as sorcery) the sacred knowledge of the atharvan and the aṅgirasas, without hesitation.

Indeed, speech is the weapon of the Brāhmaṇa. By means of that that the twice-born one should slay his enemies.

The insistence that an AV priest should be the purohita, already expressed in the some dharma-texts, is found most clearly in the AV Pariśiṣṭa 2.

⁷⁹ Bloomfield (1897: lxvii - lxviii).

- 2.2.2 atharvā srjate ghoram adbhetam̄ śamayet tathā |
 atharvā rakṣate yajñam̄ yajñasya patir aṅgirāḥ ||
- 2.2.4 brahmā śamayen nā 'dhvaryur na chandogo na bahvṛcaḥ |
 rakṣāṁśi rakṣati brahmā brahmā tasmād atharvavit ||
- 2.3.5 samāhitāṅgapratyāṅgam̄ vidyācāraguṇānvitam̄ |
 paippalādām̄ gurum̄ kuryāc chrīrāstrārogavardhanam||
- 2.4.1 tathā ūaunakinaM vāpi vedamantravipaścitam̄ |
 rāstrasya vrddhikartāram̄ dhanadhānyādhibhiḥ sadā ||
- 2.4.3 bahvṛco hanti vai rāstram̄ advaryur nāśayet sutān̄ |
 chandogo dhananāśaya tasmād ātharvanō guruḥ||
- 2.5.2 purodhā jalado yasya maudo vā syāt kadā cana |
 abdād daśabhyo māsebhyo rāstrabhrāmśam̄ sa gacchatī ||

The Atharvan (priest) sends forth terrible (events). Thus, he should pacify supernatural (events). The Atharvan (priest) protects the sacrifice. The Aṅgirasa (priest) is the lord of the sacrifice. A Brahman should pacify (those events) not a Yajurveda (priest), not a Sāmavedin (priest) and not a Ṛgvedin (priest). The Brahman protects (against) *rakṣasas*. Therefore, the Brahman is one who knows the Atharvaveda.

Endowed with virtue, conduct, and knowledge, entrusted with the limbs and minor limbs (of the Veda), he should make a Paippalādin (priest) as his guru, as one increasing prosperity, kingdom, and health.

In that manner, also he should make a ūaunakin (priest) versed in the mantras of the Veda (as his guru) as one who promotes the growth of the kingdom in gifts, grains, and water.

Indeed, a Ṛgvedin (priest) destroys the kingdom. A Yajurvedin (priest) would destroy sons. The Samavedin (priest) is for the destruction of gifts. Therefore, the guru (should be) an Atharvavedin (priest).

Invariably, (a king) whose (priest) would be in any way a Jalada or a Mauda goes slipping from his kingdom within 10-12 months.

This text not only attacks the possibility that priests of the other Veda-s could be purohita-s but goes on to attack even other AV śākhā-s. This pariśīṭa certainly reflects at least a competition among śākhā-s, and particularly those of the AV, between the Paippalādins and ūaunakins, for this coveted office. It is especially interesting that there is specific statement against the Mauda Brāhmans, who as

we know from Patañjali, are members of one of the oldest, better known schools.

The attack against other Veda-s is clear: the purohita must engage in basic Atharvic-type practices of magic, especially ‘black’ magic which must be practiced not as a defensive measure but in an offensive manner.⁸⁰ These practices are meant to protect the king and the prosperity of his kingdom against hostile neighbors and most importantly against internal enemies, namely family members – especially the cousin (*bhrātrvya*), the father’s brother’s son.

Another indication of the agenda of the Atharvavedins and that of Paippalādins in particular, may also be seen in the inclusion in both AV collections of the Rohita hymns, the hymns to the red sun/dawn. These hymns reflect the victorious aspect of the sun, which is indicated by the constant stress on the relationship of *varcas* ‘luster’ to *rāṣṭra* ‘kingdom’.⁸¹ The king is clearly identified with this aspect of the sun.

To summarize: the most obvious difference between the two samhitā-s of the AV can be seen from an analysis of the grammar, style, arrangement, and content of the PS as compared with the ŚS. What emerges from this is that the ŚS contains approximately 75% of the material that is found in the PS. Furthermore, the reason for the omitted material in the ŚS is probably that this material was

⁸⁰ For example ŚS 3.19, the battle charm.

⁸¹ See Witzel (1984), Gonda (1984), and Tsuchiyama (1990).

exclusively collected and specifically arranged by the composers-redactors of the PS with the sole purpose of creating a place for their priest in the new power structure of the Kurus. With their new royal consecration texts and rituals, the Paippalādin priests assured a place for themselves within the new political structure and in the emerging sacrificial enterprise of the ‘classical,’ late Vedic period.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICAL EDITION

A *Textual Criticism and Sanskrit Texts*

The methodology of historical textual criticism has been solidly established since the early part of the 19th century following the rediscovery of the classics of Greek and Latin literature in the 14th and 15th century. Paul Maas' *Textkritik*, translated into English in 1958 as *Textual Criticism*, clearly and concisely sets out the critical methods to be used “to produce a text as close as possible to the original (*constitutio textus*).”⁸² The application of this method to non-Greek and Latin texts of Europe and beyond was spearheaded by Karl Lachmann (1793-1851). Lachmann and others stressed the vast amount of evidence in these texts that pointed to multiple authors as well as internal contradictions, which in the case of the Old and New Testament, ran counter to the claims of the divine origin upheld by the Church.

Martin L. West has restated and expanded the discussion of the means by which to establish the text as close as possible to the text the author had in mind. West expands upon Maas' basic treatment of the methods of historical and textual criticism that calls for strict adherence to the principle of establishing the genealogical tree, the *stemma*, which shows the historical relationships of the

⁸² Maas (1958: 1).

manuscripts of the text to be edited.

West highlights the difficulties inherent in the process of establishing a *stemma* when the manuscript tradition has become contaminated, a problem of particular interest for scholars dealing with manuscripts from South Asia. The open recension situation is the most problematic as it does not permit the clear identification of the historical relationship among the surviving exemplars. In a situation in which many exemplars of the text in question exist, they show signs of contamination, and cross-contamination, it may be impossible to reduce the affinities found in those exemplars to a *stemma*. In such a situation, however, it is still possible to deduce a ‘serviceable’ stemmatic relationship that demonstrates the “lines of tradition that have remained more or less independent of each other throughout.”⁸³ This serviceable stemmatic relationship does not tell about the historical relationship of the manuscripts or about the archetype. However, such a *stemma* allows the editor to proceed by distinguishing fundamental affinities among major manuscript lines, and thus determine the most independent manuscript line that should go back to the earliest stages of the tradition that can be reached.

In South Asia, manuscripts often go back to a single medieval archetype whose transmission has often been influenced by other traditions. If the original

⁸³ West (1973: 41).

oral tradition was small with a weak base, it becomes very difficult to reconstruct a non-contaminated text. In addition, South Asian scholars working with manuscripts must always take into consideration the possible effects of the oral tradition on the transmission of manuscripts. It is well known that both the oral and manuscript tradition continue side-by-side for a long time and, in some instances, up to the present.

West points out one of issues that is of particular importance for those working with South Asian texts, whether Sanskrit, Dravidian, or New Indo-Aryan texts: copying mistakes. The great majority of errors that are found in manuscripts can be attributed to copying mistakes. These can be further classified into two categories: semi-conscious and unconscious mistakes made by a scribe in the process of copying a manuscript. West points out, in the case of Greek and Latin texts, that these errors are not visual in character but rather phonetic or psychological in origin. "When one is writing (whether one is copying or not, but especially if one is), one tends to say the words over oneself. One may then find oneself writing down a word that sounds the same as the one intended."⁸⁴

The phonetic/psychological errors as well as the visual variety of copying mistakes are also an important source of error in the transmission of Vedic and Sanskrit texts. However, the visual aspect of copying mistakes is a particular

⁸⁴ Ibid., 20.

problem that is not often faced by Classicists in general that greatly influences the transmission of texts in South Asia. Classicists are in the lucky situation of dealing with a tradition that has relied on writing for a much longer period usually with a single script.

The case of Vedic, Sanskrit, and other texts from South Asia is quite different. Writing makes its appearance in India rather late when compared to other classical cultures. The first decipherable evidence of writing in the subcontinent is the inscriptions of Aśoka (c. 272-232 BC), dated to the 3rd century BC. To complicate matters, the climate in most areas of the subcontinent is not conducive to preserving manuscripts, Kashmir and Nepal being exceptions. Thus, our earliest Vedic manuscript is dated only to around 1000 AD.

This situation is further aggravated by the lack of a unified script in Ancient India. Brahmi, the earliest Indian script, gave rise to several scripts which themselves evolved into other scripts. This has led to the general tendency of geographically specific scripts. Thus, before the 13th century, when the Benares school came to prominence and Devanagari became the unofficial script used to write Sanskrit, Vedic and Sanskrit were written down in the local scripts. As time passed and scripts changed, copying mistakes multiplied as result of copying manuscripts from an older form of local script into a more modern form, or even worse, copying from another script into the local script. One does not have to go very far to imagine this scenario. Just think of students in an Introduction to

Sanskrit course struggling to make out *gh* vs. *dh*, *t* vs. *th*, *d* vs. *dh* in the re-print of Perry's Sanskrit Primer.⁸⁵ Now, just imagine copying from palm-leaf manuscript, or even paper manuscript, often not as neatly written as Perry's primer.

The types of mistakes discussed above fall into the semi-conscious category of mistakes that a scribe might make. The other source of errors is conscious in nature. These can be put into two sub categories: (1) conscious orthographic corrections, and (2) conscious ‘scholarly’ corrections. The first category is those mistakes made during the copying process by a more or less learned scribe who made “improvements” based on pronunciation and orthography. The second category involves conscious, scholarly corrections made by a scribe who, while copying, is also reading the text. While reading, the scribe is unable to make sense of the text in front of him and corrects or “purifies” the text based on several factors.⁸⁶ Among these factors, one must consider the other local textual traditions in the area. In the case of Kashmir, a medieval Brahmin is likely to have some knowledge of the Katha texts (KS, KĀ, lost Kath Br.), as well as the RV. In addition to the knowledge of other texts, a scribe may also be versed in the recitation of several texts and may very well correct the text according to the

⁸⁵ Perry (1885).

⁸⁶ See Deshpande (1997: 80-95).

'words in his ears.'

B *The Study of the Atharvaveda*

The study of the Atharvaveda has been more or less stagnant ever since the publication of Roth and Whitney's edition in 1856 and Whitney's translation of the text, completed by Lanman in 1905 after Whitney's death. Since then, only a few minor texts of the AV including the Kauśika Sūtra (Bloomfield, 1890), the Atharva Prātiśākhya (Surya Kanta, 1969), and Atharva Prāyaścittāni (Von Negelein 1915) have been edited and published. Relatively few studies have followed, an exception being Kenneth G. Zysk's *Religious Medicine: The History and Evolution of Indian Medicine* (1985), which focuses on the AV as its main source.

If AV studies, generally consisting of the study of the Śaunaka text as presented in Roth and Whitney's edition, have seen little advance, the study of the Paippalāda tradition has crawled along at an even slower pace. The excitement generated by the discovery of the Kashmir birch bark manuscript of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā gave rise to a short-lived burst of scholarly interest in AV studies. The first result was the publication of Bloomfield and Garbe's facsimile edition of the birch bark manuscript in 1905. This was followed by the subsequent piecemeal publication, from 1921-1940, of an edition of the PS based exclusively on the Kashmir manuscript by L. C. Barret. Following the publication of edition of PS 20 by Barret, the interest in the AV studies once again faded.

The moribund field of AV studies came alive once again in the 1950's when

D. M. Bhattacharya announced the discovery of several palm-leaf manuscripts of the PS in Orissa. His publication in 1962 of “Fundamental Themes of the Atharvaveda with special reference to its Paippalāda version” raised the level of interest in the field once again. In this series of lectures, Bhattacharya discussed the character of the Orissa manuscripts of the PS that he obtained and put forth his ideas regarding the history of this old Vedic school. For the first time, thanks to these manuscripts, one could make sense of the text of the Kashmir PS (PSK) text by using the Orissa manuscripts to correct the corrupt readings of the PSK. According to Bhattacharya, the Orissa PS (PSO) preserved, in many cases, the correct reading of the original PS text.

The publication of the edition of PS I in 1964, and of PS 2-4 in 1970, prepared posthumously by D. Bhattacharya, the son of the discoverer, finally provided a glimpse into this ancient text. The interest in PS studies, however, soon faded. Since the publication of 1970, few articles about the PS text or its tradition have appeared.

The study of the PS came to life once again in 1981 because of Dipak Bhattacharya’s one-year research visit to Leiden. Bhattacharya’s visit provided M. Witzel with the opportunity to study part of the palm leaf manuscripts from Orissa. This was the first time that someone outside the Bhattacharya family had the opportunity to closely examine the manuscripts in order to evaluate their paleographic details.

Witzel’s studies led to a series of important articles on the nature of the transmission of the PS and the history of the Paippalāda Tradition. In these

publications, Witzel has pointed out critical information regarding how the transmission of the PS in Kashmir and Orissa has shaped the text into the form that exists in PSK and PSO. Witzel has begun the task of clarifying the rules governing the corruptions that appear in both branches of the PS tradition. These corruptions can be grouped into three main categories: (1) errors due to the influence of the pronunciation of the local language upon Vedic recitation, (2) writing errors due to the paleographic evolution, and (3) scribal errors, both learned and unlearned.

In the 1990's, the study of the Paippalāda continued to move steadily forward. Under the guidance of Michael Witzel, several scholars throughout the world continued to work on the text of the PS. Thomas Zehnder of Zürich has recently published a new critical edition of PS 2. A. Tsuchiyama, Hokkaido University, soon will complete an edition of PS 10, a book that provides new material on the coronation ritual of the PS. Maria Green, Harvard University, is currently working on the edition of PS 17, and Arlo Griffith, Leiden, has recently completed the edition and translation of the first 10 *ṭṛca-s* of PS book19. In addition, after a long 15-year delay, D. Bhattacharya published in 1997 an edition of PS 1-15.

What are these avenues within the sub-field of AV Studies?

The single most crucial work to be pursued in AV Studies, in addition to a complete, critical edition of the PS is a new edition of Śaunaka/Vulgate. Both the edition by Roth and Whitney, one of the first editions of a Vedic text, as well as the updated edition by Lindenau (1924), continue to be unsatisfactory. As

discussed above, Roth and Whitney did not edit the ŚŚ proper but only an ‘*atharvaveda*’ text of unknown śākhā allegiance.⁸⁷ Scholars must go back, examine the manuscripts, and accurately describe their transmission in order to ascertain the śākhā allegiance of this text. Once the text of ŚŚ has been established using the text-critical method, the next task for Vedic scholarship is to pursue the philological study of the AV tradition.

C *On a new critical edition of PS*

Despite the groundbreaking work of D. M. Bhattacharya and his son Dipak, the currently available edition(s) of the PS still does not allow the text or its transmission and history to shine forth. The editions (1964, 1970, and 1997) have several problems, some of which were pointed by K. Hoffmann (1968, 1979). Aside from what could be considered minor problems of printing, the main problem with these editions is that they are generally impractical and unfriendly apparatus. Hoffmann (1968) points out that upon reading the text that he could not even figure out some readings of the printed edition because the lack of variants in the apparatus of D.M. Bhattacharya’s two publications. These problems is somewhat alleviated in the 1997 edition by Dipak Bhattacharya. Nevertheless, even in this latest publication, Bhattacharya fails to carry out the most important task of the editor: to give clearly the manuscript readings as they

⁸⁷ See Chap. ID.

are. In other words, to provide the reader with full information on the variant readings of the manuscripts used for the edition. This means also that the RV, the ŚS, and any readings from other texts that have been taken into consideration in establishing the text must be included in the apparatus.

What emerges out of the 1997 edition is the tendency on the part of Bhattacharya to work only at the level of lower criticism. This is clear from the many underlined, uncertain readings in the edited text. Many of these readings could be easily explained applying the methodology that is the topic of this thesis. There is a lack of effort to try to figure out what the reading of the archetype might have possibly been.⁸⁸

Bhattacharya's task has been, as he tells in his Introduction, to produce an edition "as faithful as possible to the MSS."⁸⁹ However, even this task is not fully accomplished. The apparatus of the edition is hardly helpful in presenting the variant manuscript readings faithfully. For example, there is no indication of the variety of markings that Kā uses to indicate the end of verses or any indication of pāda marks which are clearly present in Mā₁. For that matter, Bhattacharya has not bothered to even figure out a better way to indicate h and h in his apparatus other than by adopting Barret's idiosyncratic method of using s for both h and h.

⁸⁸ It is clear that Bhattacharya is not editing the text with any notion of what an archetype is in relation to the manuscripts that he is using.

⁸⁹ Bhattacharya (1997: xxx).

A new edition is necessary on methodological grounds. Put simply, D. Bhattacharya has failed to understand the transmission of the PS in its two representative branches, Kashmir (PSK) and Orissa (PSO). These two branches differ in culture, language, and geography. These factors have worked to make the two branches look quite different on the surface. If closely scrutinized, however, we can discover rules that allow us to make sense of what at first glance may look like two totally unrelated texts.

A large source of corruptions in the PS tradition is due to the influence of local language upon Vedic recitation. This source of errors has gone unnoticed by Barret, Raghuvira, Bhattacharya, and others working on Kashmiri manuscripts, both Vedic and Sanskrit, and has not been systematically treated until Witzel's recent work⁹⁰ nor systematically applied to the PS until the recent editions by Zehnder (1997) and Griffith (1999) as well as the present dissertation. If one listens to modern Vedic recitation while following a modern day (not so critical) edition, one will quickly pick up some rules that make the Kashmiri pronunciation of Vedic understandable. For instance v- is not be pronounced at the beginning of a word, thus we find Kā *rātum*. Or *vratam*.

Although not as radically corrupting as the Kashmiri language influence on Vedic recitation, Oriya pronunciation has similarly influenced the transmission of

⁹⁰ See Witzel (1994).

the PS. Typical mistakes include the confusion of ś ~ š ~ s, the lengthening of final i and u, and the introduction of glides, -a e- > -a ye-.

A great number of corruptions in both branches of transmission are due to copying errors. As has been shown by Witzel,⁹¹ all manuscripts of PSK go back to Kā, the birch bark manuscript of 1419 which itself must go back through an intermediate, *K, in Śāradā, to an original, *D, written in Western Nāgarī-type script, ca. 1200 AD. This is supported by the absence of typical well-known Devanāgarī copying mistakes such as p/y, b/v, c/v, etc. On the other hand, the majority of copying mistakes found in Kā are typical mistakes made when copying from a Śāradā original or from Early Nāgarī to Śārada.

The PSO tradition, on the other hand, seems to have been a long written tradition that can be seen from a number of miswritings and *lacunae* found in the text. However, it must be pointed out that there is much still to be learned about the transmission of the PS in Orissa. In order to understand the transmission of the PS as well as other Vedic texts in Orissa, the study of the development of the Oriya script must be seriously undertaken by Indologists.⁹² Thus, an unintelligible passage common to both PSK and PSO must go back to an error during the

⁹¹See Witzel (1973, 1976).

⁹² For the purposes of this dissertation, I have relied on Tripathi (1963) and tables prepared by M. Witzel for his study of the Oriya manuscripts. Much research is still has done in terms of the historical development of the script. The development of Oriya from Eastern Nāgarī/proto-Bengali needs further study.

copying process, and must be taken as the true reading of the authentic PS.⁹³

In his recent edition of PS, D. Bhattacharya (1997) defends and expands the theory laid down by his father, D. M. Bhattacharya (1964), that the Paippalāda tradition of Kashmir as reflected in PSK originated from Karnāṭaka. D.M. Bhattacharya based his argument on the passage from Jonarāja's *Rājataranginī* that tells how Yuddhabhaṭṭa, a Kashmiri Brahmin, went to Karnāṭaka and after having learned the PS there, returned to Kashmir where he taught it to others.⁹⁴

In his 1997 edition, C. Bhattacharya continues to uphold this theory and to further complicate the picture of the supposed southern origin of the PS. Arguing against the approach proposed by Witzel (1973, 1976) – that of an archetype from which both branches of the tradition derive –, D. Bhattacharya suggests that such hypothesis can be opposed simply based on the fact that the same level of corruption is not observed in other textual traditions in Kashmir – namely the RV and the Kāṭha traditions. However, as Bhattacharya himself has pointed out, the stability of these two well-established traditions in Kashmir is due to the larger base of the traditions when compared to the relatively late (in Bhattacharya's view) Paippalāda tradition. Rather than taking the internal evidence provided by

⁹³See Hoffmann (1968).

⁹⁴ See Chap. IIC above.

the text along with external evidence – on which he places far greater emphasis –, D. Bhattacharya goes on to complicate his theory by proposing “the possible existence of a non-AVP Atharvavedic tradition in Kashmir.”⁹⁵

In his introduction, D. Bhattacharya cites data from Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali to show that a northwestern, non-Kashmirian AVP tradition existed in the second half of the first millennium BC. He concludes: “the evidence speaks for a northwestern Atharvavedic tradition in the centuries preceding the Common Era, but not for a Kashmirian one in that age.”⁹⁶ After citing data from grammatical texts, this time from Kāśika and Mahābhāṣya, Bhattacharya finally states the crux of his argument against the value of internal evidence:

Though one cannot be more definite, the above two variations in the Kāśika and the Mahābhāṣya indicate the possibility of the existence of an AV text closely similar to the AVP as known to us in Kashmir till the seventh century.⁹⁷

D. Bhattachary’s scheme attempts to save the southern, Karnāṭaka origin of the PS by suggesting that a case for a PS having its source in Kashmir has not

⁹⁵ Bhattacharya (1997: xl).

⁹⁶ Ibid., xli.

⁹⁷ Ibid., xlvi. Bhattacharya bases his conclusions on the Kāśikā’s citation of exclusive AVP text, PS 6.6.8.d and on the fact that Kayyaṭa (who is from Kashmir), in his commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, suggests that Patañjali intended to read *māś* instead of *mād* when commenting on P 7.4.48 *mādbhir istava indro vṛtrahā*. He finds further support in P 4.1.32 which allows the Vedic forms *antarvatnī* (quoted from PS 14.2.7) and *pativatnī* in opposition to Kāśikā and Mahābhāṣya’s *pativatī* and *pativatnī*, respectively.

been established. He further suggests that the “AV text similar to the AVP as known to us in Kashmir” is the *Mauda Saṃhitā*. However, Bhattacharya, arguing against Witzel, has missed the point of Witzel’s contention: that PSK and PSO go back to an original archetype that is neither of a southern nor Kashmirian origin.

D. Bhattacharya has simply ignored the simplest solution if he wants to uphold his theory: to show typical influences of Kannada pronunciation on the text.⁹⁸ He could easily do this by citing examples of expected corruptions which would be produced in the transcription of a text written in *Nandināgarī* (the *Nāgarī* of Karnaṭaka) into Śāradā or such typical Karnaṭaka development as p > h.⁹⁹ One would also expect an increased frequency of glide insertions as is typical for Kannada – which is not the case in PSK!

Bhattacharya has incorporated few of the advances regarding the transmission of Vedic texts into his recent publication. He is somewhat aware of the effects of local pronunciation on the recitation of Vedic and Sanskrit. However, his awareness is limited, as he notes only a few of the, and does not

⁹⁸ This is, of course, the very use of internal evidence upon which he argues against Witzel.

⁹⁹ This development has been well known since the 10th century and was fully entrenched by the 14th century. If Bhattacharya’s theory of a common southern source were correct, one would expect this peculiarity to be present in the Orissa manuscripts (since AV Brahmins are only attested in Orissa and Bengal in the second half of the 11th century), and in PSK (since Yuddhabhaṭṭa supposed brought the PS to Kashmir in the 14th century).

incorporate the hundreds of such phonetic rules noted by Witzel (1994).

However, he has yet to incorporate into his understanding of the transmission the errors due to copying mistakes. This comes out clearly in some of the examples he discusses in the introduction to his edition.

In discussing PS 6.1.6a, PSO *snuṣejyam*, PSK *snuṣeyyam*, RV *stuséyyam* and ŚŚ *stuśvá*, he concludes that *snu-* is due to a confusion of t ~ n. However, Bhattacharya does not specify how or at what point in the transmission of the text, the error arose. He simply infers an ancient graphical error. This is correct when we examine the earliest examples of Nāgarā script, but it is only possible at a point when the text was being transmitted using Śāradā.¹⁰⁰ Śāradā t and n are not easily confused. The same holds in the case of Oriya script.

Additionally, Bhattacharya cites that the existing oral tradition in Orissa has *srucejyam*. He concludes that the error must go back to an ancient graphical error in “historical times.” However, this avoids answering the question of the place and time of the transmission of the text.

What Bhattacharya ignores in his own example is what this graphical error tells about the oral tradition reading. The confusion of sn ~ st ~ sr are all extremely likely based on the paleography of these scripts. Furthermore, this example shows the secondary character of the oral recitation in Orissa: this

¹⁰⁰ D. Bhattacharya is certainly only thinking at a transmission at this level, given his strong support of his father's Yuddhabhaṭṭa hypothesis.

recitation was re-learned from a manuscript that must have already had a similar graphical error. Interestingly, in his edition, Bhattacharya edits *snusejyam* against the RV, ŚŚ *stuseyya* and the oral tradition.

Bhattacharya also argues against the explanation of the confusion of c ~ t in Kashmir arising from the pronunciation of c as [t^s] because it occurs in both branches of PS.¹⁰¹ He notes the development of t out of original c/s- in Dravidian as something to keep in mind. However, even this faint link to the southern-origin hypothesis is unnecessary. An explanation on the grounds of pronunciation for PSK co-exists alongside a simple paleographic explanation: it is not impossible for c ~ t to be confused in Oriya, especially in early Eastern Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali.¹⁰²

Bhattacharya's lack of understanding of the paleographic developments of Śāradā and Oriya are again visible when he discusses the variants of PS 12.19.2, PSO *śraddhemam*, and PSK *bhraddhemanī*.¹⁰³ He explains the paleographic confusion through a series of substitutions based on Śāradā script: *śraddhemam > *traddhemam > bhaddremam. This explanation is convoluted, unnecessary, and it clearly shows Bhattacharya's lack of understanding regarding the transmission of the PS. The explanation in this instance is quite simple, once one

¹⁰¹ Ibid., xlviii.

¹⁰² See Tripathi (1963).

¹⁰³ Bhattacharya (1997: xlviii).

has concluded that both branches of PS must go back to a single archetype. Again an examination of the paleographic evidence shows that Early Nāgarī bhra ~ śra can be easily confused, especially by someone who is transcribing into Śāradā.

A complete critical edition of the PS is needed which will have taken into consideration these important factors. The sections that follow set forth the methodological ground on which the text of the authentic PS has been established. The discussion will focus especially on the influence of Kashmiri and Oriya on the recitation of Vedic and on the problems that arise out of the writing mistakes, which are due to long-term paleographical developments in both of these regions. The intention of this section is to show by examples how to deal with these problems and how they are crucial to the study of any Vedic and Sanskrit text.

F *Transmission of the PS: Kashmir branch, PSK*

The Kashmir branch of the Paippalāda tradition is represented by Kā, the birch-bark manuscript of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā at the Tübingen University Library. This manuscript was discovered in the library of the Rāja of Kashmir and Jammu at the urging of Roth in 1873. All other exemplars of the PS from Kashmir, either in Śāradā or Devanāgarī, are copies of the Tübingen manuscript.¹⁰⁴ Among these, the copy made for Roth in 1873, R, is the most

¹⁰⁴ See M. Witzel (1973, 1976).

valuable because it preserves portions of the text that were destroyed or lost during the process of transcription and during the manuscript's voyage to Europe. Specifically, R contains the only available text of folio 1, which was lost during the trip to Europe and is not even preserved in the Bloomfield-Garbe facsimile.

Influence of Local Pronunciation.

A large percentage of the innumerable corrupt passages of Kā can be observed to have arisen from the influence of Kashmiri pronunciation on Vedic recitation. Barret, Raghu Vira, D.M. Bhattacharya, and, most recently, D. Bhattacharya have ignored this fact, mentioned by Bühler in his report of 1877.

During his trip to Kashmir in 1875, Bühler noticed many mistakes in Sanskrit pronunciation, which were due to the influence of Kashmiri language. The effect on Vedic recitation was so devastating, that Bühler noted his difficulty in understand the “recitation of the Kāvyas” without a text to follow. He noted his impression of the changes that Sanskrit sounds go through in Kashmir:¹⁰⁵

a	[a, ö, ȫ]	r̄	[r̄e, r̄ü]
-a-	[ɔ:]	e	[i, ī, ē̄]
-i-	[ě, yě]	o + nas./liqu.	[ō, ū]
i-	[e, ye]	kṣa	[khye]
-i	[ü]	sa	[śa, sometimes sa]
-ī	[ū]	ḥ	[very soft, almost inaudible]
u-	[vō]	asp. consonants >	unasp. consonants
-u-	[ȫv̄]		
ū-	[v̄ü]		

¹⁰⁵ Bühler (1877: 25-26).

Witzel (1994) has described the modern and medieval pronunciation of Sanskrit in Kashmir in detail. By comparing the modern recitation of Vedic and Sanskrit text to the printed editions, Witzel has produced a fairly complete set the modern Kashmiri pronunciation of Sanskrit. In addition, variants of quick (*allegro*) recitation have been included.

A comparison of recordings of modern Vedic recitation and of modern Sanskrit recitation reveals uncertainties on the part of modern Kashmiri reciters, in some cases, as to what sound is to be recited. Most typical is the uncertainty of reciters as to whether dental or palatal affricates is to be chosen in the case of Sanskrit palatals (c, ch, j, jh, ñ).¹⁰⁶ A similar insecurity on the part of reciters occurs also in the case between retroflexes and dentals. In the PSK, we can identify examples of the following confusions: c ~ t ~ ts, j ~ d ~ (z) ~ (dz).¹⁰⁷

The recitation of the Kāṭha Saṃkalana, a text that has been partially preserved in Kashmir, shows the pervasive influence of local pronunciation on Vedic recitation.

[yiśē tōrzē tā...; athē kuśmāndē zōyāt yo ṣpōtyau manyēta....] =
iše tvorje tvā...; atha kūṣmāṇḍair juhuyād yo 'puta iva manyeta....

¹⁰⁶ This uncertainty, however, has very little effect in writing. For the most part, the most visible one in the PS is the uncertainty about representing c by c, ts, t, and s.

¹⁰⁷ See Witzel (1994).

Once the rules of pronunciation are applied, the Sanskrit text becomes understandable and identifiable.

Errors based on paleographic peculiarities

In the case of the well-known birch bark manuscript of the PS from Kashmir, the great majority of errors can be attributed to copying mistakes due to historical development of the scripts used in the area. The transmission of the PS as reflected in Kā has gone through two broad steps.

Going back in time, our manuscript Kā, in modern Śāradā, was copied from a manuscript *K in an older Śāradā script, ca. 1419. Copying mistakes produced at this stage are due mainly to the confusion of Śāradā letters and ligatures. For example, the two most commonly confused Śāradā characters are m and s. The difference in these two characters is simply the lower left knob or wedge. Moving farther back in time, *K was copied from *D, a manuscript in Early-Western Nāgarī script, proposed by M. Witzel to be dated ca. 1350.¹⁰⁸

Śāradā > Śāradā

These types of copying mistakes are the simplest to illustrate. A glance at the Table II will quickly produce a series of obvious similarities:

ma ~ sa
ba ~ ra
ca ~ da ~ śa
u ~ t

¹⁰⁸ See Witzel (1985a).

In terms of ligatures, the list grows even further. For example:

ku ~ kta
cya ~ dya ~ mya ~ śya ~ sya
tu ~ tta ~ nta ~ rta
ba ~ rdha ~ rva ~ va

M. Witzel (1984) has provided a list of such mistakes based on his experience gained while working with Kashmiri manuscripts. Walter Slaje has prepared another list¹⁰⁹

Early Nāgarī > Śāradā

The difficulty of identifying copying error at this level is the lack of paleographic studies of Nāgarī script. In order to complete the present study, I have made used of existing general paleographic studies by Bühler, (1896), Singh (1991), Deambi (1982), and Slaje.

Although few paleographic study of the transition from late Gupta script/Siddhamātrkā (6th - 8th c) to Early Nāgarī (11th-13th c) script exists, the closest representative of this script is the *Licchavi* script of Nepal.¹¹⁰ This script is quite conservative and preserves the majority of the features illustrated by the Late Gupta/Siddhamātrkā script of 6th-8th centuries as illustrated by the manuscripts and inscriptions used by Bühler. As a general reference, I have used the *Licchavi Lipi Samgraha*. Along with the tables from Bühler's *Paleography*,

¹⁰⁹ W. Slaje. *Śāradā: Deskriptiv-synchrone Schriftkunde zur Bearbeitung kaschmirischer Sanskrit-Manuskripte*. Unpublished.

¹¹⁰ Dates according to Singh (1991).

which provides the shapes of letters from epigraphic material, the Nepalese script of c. 450-700, provides the best approximation of the Late Gupta/Early Nāgarī script of c. 1000 AD. The following examples can only be explained as Early Nāgarī > Śāradā copying mistakes:

9.11.13	prāṇeṣu	> K: prāṇopu
9.4.7	rakṣayādvai	> K: °randha°
13.1.7	balhikeṣu	> K: bahlikemukhu
15.10.8	viśvahā	> K: viśvapha

Table II
Modern Śāradā Script.

a	ଅ	ା	ି	ି	ୁ
ା	ହୁ	ର	ଏ	ଇ	ଇ
e	ଏ	ai	ଐ	o	ଓ
ai	ଅଇ			au	ଅଉ
o	ଅୁ			om	ଅମ୍ବି
ka	କ	kha	ଖ	ga	ଗ
ca	ଚ	cha	ଛ	ja	ଜ
ṭa	ଟ	ṭha	ଢ	da	ଦ
ta	ତ	tha	ଥ	da	ଦ
pa	ପ	pha	ଫ	ba	ବ
ya	ଯ	ra	ର	la	ଲ
sa	ମ	sa	ଷ	sa	ଷ
				ha	ହ

G *The Transmission of the PS: Orissa Branch, PSO*

The Orissa branch of the PS is represented by the various sets of manuscript discovered in this century by D.M. Bhattacharya (Mā, Ma, Jā, Vā) and by M. Witzel (Pa, Gu). The manuscripts discovered by D.M. Bhattacharya have never been studied in detail by anyone outside of his family until the present dissertation. The only exception was when D. Bhattacharya, the discoverer's son, spent a year as a research fellow at Leiden. At that time, M. Witzel was able to study at these manuscripts for the first time, and photocopy portions of them. The manuscripts discovered by or on behalf of M. Witzel have also never been used in any edition of the PS until the present work.

Influence of Local Pronunciation

The influence of Oriya language is immediately visible upon a close inspection of the Orissa manuscripts of the PS. However, unlike with the study of the PSK, nothing equal to Bühler's early work on Kashmiri pronunciation of Sanskrit exists for the Orissa area. The only work in this little studied area so far has been that by M. Witzel's his article "Die mündliche Tradition der Paippalādins von Orissa" published in 1985. Although the influence of the Oriya language upon Sanskrit does not lead to the incomprehensible result as Kashmiri, the results of such influence can still be detected.

The most prominent errors are those due to the typical confusion of the sibilants (ś, ś, and s) that is found among the Eastern group of New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, generally realized as [s] in Orissa. This confusion leads to numerous mistakes, so much so that one is likely to come across *siva* or *sīva*, as

well as the correct *sīva*. Another peculiarity due to the influence is the pronunciation of ya as [ja]. This is found in several places in the manuscripts. In addition, the shortening of long vowels [ī, ū], another feature of the Eastern group of NIA languages, and the particular tendency in Orissa (as in Nepal) to write final -i or -u as long regardless whether it was originally long,¹¹¹ has lead to numerous misspellings in the Orissa manuscripts.

Since the phonetic influence of Oriya upon Sanskrit is not as extensive as in the Kashmiri case, Table III below presents the list of rules produced by M. Witzel.

¹¹¹ This feature is also observed in the surviving manuscripts of the Avestan corpus.

Table III
Oriya pronunciation of Sanskrit (Reproduced from Witzel (1985b)).

/a/	[ɔ/a; ɔ, ð, ě, ē, u, ə, ø; L:ä ; A: ě (!)]	-k c-	[gɔt, kt]
-a	a/ā: āŋ, am, āhā L: aŋa, āhā, āŋan. āŋaŋ, āmja, āmja ŋ	kṣ	khy; kš, kh ¹
i	i L: I	kṣa	khe ¹
ī	i; ī	jy	j
-i	L: iŋə	jñ	gny, gy
u	u; ɔ, ə, L: ū, ɔ A: a ¹ , i ¹	ñc	nc, nc; : L mc
-u	L: uŋ	mcch	mch ¹
ū	u; ū	nva	nuwa ¹
r	ru; ri, rə	trai	tai ¹
e	e; ě	tva	kṣa ¹ , tya
e-	ě; yě	ts	cch
o	o, ð; a, ū; A: u	dgrā	nya ¹
ai	ɔi, ei	dvi	düi, dui; L: di
au	ɔu	dbh	dam ¹
c	c; j ¹	ny	ny, ný; na ¹
cch	ch; ts	nv	nv, nb; nab, nam, naw ; nvah ¹
j	j; z ¹	rC	C; hC ¹
ñ	n	rn	nn ¹
-d-	-l-	rt	rat
-t	L: tə ¹	r	rb, rab, rav
b	b;m ¹	rṣna	šta ¹
bh	bh; v ¹	-v i-	umi
-m	m, ŋ, ø; ŋə, ŋma	mv	mb
y	j	Cv	Cv, Cw, Cb
-l-	-l-	śa	sa, ši
v	b, v; w; L: m ¹	śa	śā; śā
-r-	ø ¹	śc	sc, šc; hc ¹
ś	s; š, ś	śy	sy, šy; ś

š	s; š	śru	suru
s	s; š ¹ , ś ¹	śva	śa ¹
-h-	h, ø	-sth-	sth, śth, šth
-ah	-ah; -ahā, āŋ, aø, A: ā, a ø	-st-	st, śt; st
-uh	-ūhu ¹	-st-	øt
-h s-	-h s-; n s ¹	sy	sy, ś
-h p	-h p-; L: ø p, nah/wah p-	-sv i-	sumi
-			
-s p-	-h p-; wah p-	-hm-	mh
-a a-	ā	-ṁ y-	ŋj; nj
-ā ā-	ā	-ṁ v-	mb; nv, ø v
-sr i	su-m-i ¹	-ṁ ll-	ill
		-ṁ s-	ŋs, øs
		-ṁs-	ns
		-āṁ a-	āgwā, āgwāŋ
		-a e-	-aye-

L: Indicates the recitation of a reciter who had the tendency to elongate sounds.

¹: Indicates a single instance.

A few examples from our text will suffice to show these peculiarities.

13.3.4b	muṣkabarho gavām iva	> all Or: muṣkavṛ̥ho °
13.7.3a	kva rātrī niviśate kvāhah̄ kvedam	> all Or: °kvetim
15.20.8	namas te staniyitnave	> all Or: °stanaitnave

Errors based on paleographic peculiarities: Orissa

Just as in the Kashmir branch of the PS, similar types of copying mistakes influenced by paleography are expected in the Orissa manuscripts of the PS.

However, when dealing with the Oriya script we are in a more difficult situation because of the lack of studies of the Eastern Nāgarī, as well as Oriya. To my knowledge, only one such study exists, K.B. Tripathi's *The Evolution of the Oriya Language and Script* (1963), which presents a study of the development of Oriya based only on the earliest available inscriptions from Orissa. Tripathi provides illustrations of the basic Eastern Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali forms from ca. 1050 - 1400 and with Oriya forms from ca. 1350 - 1550. With these materials, one gets a basic picture of the development of the Oriya script via Eastern Nāgarī/ Proto-Bengali.

In studying the manuscripts from the Orissa branch of the PS, we are limited to the degree of confidence with which we can trace back the written transmission of our manuscripts. First, we must note that the Oriya script split from Proto-Bengali only around ca. 1400. It is at that time that the typical loops or curves found on top of Oriya letters, replacing the Nāgarī headline, begin to appear. Furthermore, although we find mistakes based on Proto-Bengali script, we are still faced with the problem of the split of Proto-Bengali from Eastern Nāgarī. However, we can be relatively certain of the written sub-archetype, *B, in

Proto-Oriya/Early Oriya which can be dated to at least ca. 1400.¹¹²

One can trace at least two general steps in the transmission of the PS in Orissa. First, moving back in time, our manuscripts ($Mā_{1c}$, $Mā_{2c}$, Pa_c and Gu_c) must have been copied from hyper-archetypes (*C and *E) already in Oriya script. This is indicated by the variety of copying mistakes which indicate Early Oriya > modern Oriya copying. Among the typical copying mistakes are the following.

Figure IV provides the alphabet of the Oriya script.

ma ~ sa
u ~ ū
tya ~ dhya
pa ~ ya
t a~ u
ṛ ~ ṣa ~ ru
ra ~ ca

The next step is the copying of our manuscripts via their respective hyper-archetypes from a sub-archetype *B in Eastern Nāgarī/proto-Bengali (c. 1400). Again, we are limited by the lack of paleographic tools available to study proto-Bengali/Early Oriya. However, we can still detect few mistakes that can only be explained as copying errors from Early Eastern Nāgarī/Proto-Bengali Script:

4.33.1	buhudhā yam indhate	>	Or. invite
20.13.4	yajamanāya +sunvata	>	Or: śundhata

¹¹² However, this is not an insurmountable problem as the variations between Early Nāgarī and Western Nāgarī are mostly based on the type of top line or notch and the sharpness of the angle of other strokes. In the eastern varieties of Nāgarī, there is a movement away from the cursive round hand type of the western type. See Bühler (1896).

Table IV
The modern Oriya Script

a	ଅ	ā	ଆ	i	ି	ିଲ୍	ିଲ୍ଲେ	u	ଉ	ଉ	ଉଳ୍ଳେ
r	ର	ର	ର	e	ଏ	ଏ	ଏଇ	ai	ଏଇ	ଓ	ଓ
k	କ	କ	କ	g	ଗ	ଗ	ଗାହ	gh	ଗାହ	ନ	ନ
c	ଚ	ଚ	ଚ	j	ଜ	ଜ	ଜାହ	jh	ଜାହ	ନ୍ତି	ନ୍ତି
ṭ	ଟ	ଟ	ଟ	o	ଓ	ଓ	ଓଇ	ଓଇ	ଓଇ	ଣି	ଣି
t	ତ	ତ	ତ	d	ଦ	ଦ	ଦାହ	ଦାହ	ଦାହ	ପି	ପି
p	ପ	ପ	ପ	th	ଥ	ଥ	ଥାହ	ଥାହ	ଥାହ	n	ମ
y	ଯ	ଯ	ଯ	r	ର	ର	ରାହ	ରାହ	ରାହ	ଲ	ଲ
b	ବ	ବ	ବ	l	ଲ	ଲ	ଲାହ	ଲାହ	ଲାହ	v	ଲାହ

E Materials for the Edition

Kā

The *Kashmirian Atharvaveda* edited by Maurice Bloomfield and Richard Garbe, Reproduced by Chromaphotography from the manuscript in the University Library at Tübingen (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1901). Birch Bark. Śāradā script, generally without accents. The manuscript is accented only in certain sections. 286 folios (fol. 1 and 21 are missing, fol. 2-6a, 22, 42 and 43 are very defective). 14 - 21 x 11 - 16 cm, 13 -23 lines per folio. See Figure IV.

The colophon has the date: *samvat 95 mārga śutī trayodaśam śukravāsare*.¹¹³ Each folio of Kā contains on average between 13-26 lines. From the mention of the weekday in the manuscripts, Claus Vogel has calculated the colophon is to be dated to Friday, December 15, 1419 AD.¹¹⁴ Corrections are written above the line of text or on the margin by the *prima manu* but also occasionally by the *secunda manu*. Corrections above the text line seem to generally belong to *prima manu*.

Several pages were misplaced when Kā was copied from *K. This is visible in PSK 13.3.3 to PSK 13.5.5 and PSK 11.7.1 to 11.8.6.

¹¹³ The colophon of Kā actually consists of two colophons. The first part of the colophon must have been copied from *K while the second part was written the scribe who copied Kā, Mera Bhava.

¹¹⁴ See Witzel (1985a).



Figure II: Facsimile of Kā

B_T

The *Kashmirian Atharvaveda* edited with critical notes by Leroy Carr

Barret. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Book 11, *JAOS* 44: 1923; Book 12, *JAOS* 46: 1924; Book 13 *JAOS* 48: 1928; Book 14, *JAOS* 47: 1927. This is Barret's transcription and edition of the PS based only on the facsimile of the manuscript of the Kā edited by Bloomfield and Garbe.

Mā_{1c}

A photocopy of folios 81-102 of Mā, a set of manuscripts from Makanda, used by D. M. Bhattacharya (1964, 1972) and D. Bhattacharya (1977). The palm-leaves were photocopied by D.M. Bhattacharya in Calcutta. The photocopy made by M. Witzel in 1982, Mā_{1c}, is a photocopy of Bhattacharya's photocopy. Inscribed palm-leaf. Oriya script. Approximately 28 x 4.5 cm. Unaccented. See Figure III.

Mā is a set of manuscripts in two codices

Mā₁ kāñḍa-s VI - XV

Mā₂ kāñḍa-s XVI - XX

Folios are inscribed on both sides, labeled 'a' and 'b', probably by D.M. Bhattacharya. Each folio-side generally has four lines of text (fol. 81a, 81b, 83b, 100a, 100b, 101a, 101b, 102a, and 102b have three lines of text each). The

manuscript does not have a colophon that indicates a date.¹¹⁵ Each folio has two holes through which a string was run in order to tie together the entire book.

Mā_{1c} marks end of the first verse with a single *danda* | and the end of the stanza with a double *danda* ||. Mā_{1c} also marks the end of pāda a and c with a small stroke placed slightly above the line of text. However, Mā_{1c} is not wholly consistent in marking pāda-s. In some folios, pāda-s are not marked. End of hymns are marked by the number of the hymn and the number of stanzas, for example, ||3|| ᥫ 10 ||.

¹¹⁵ D.M. Bhattacharya (1964: xviii-xix).

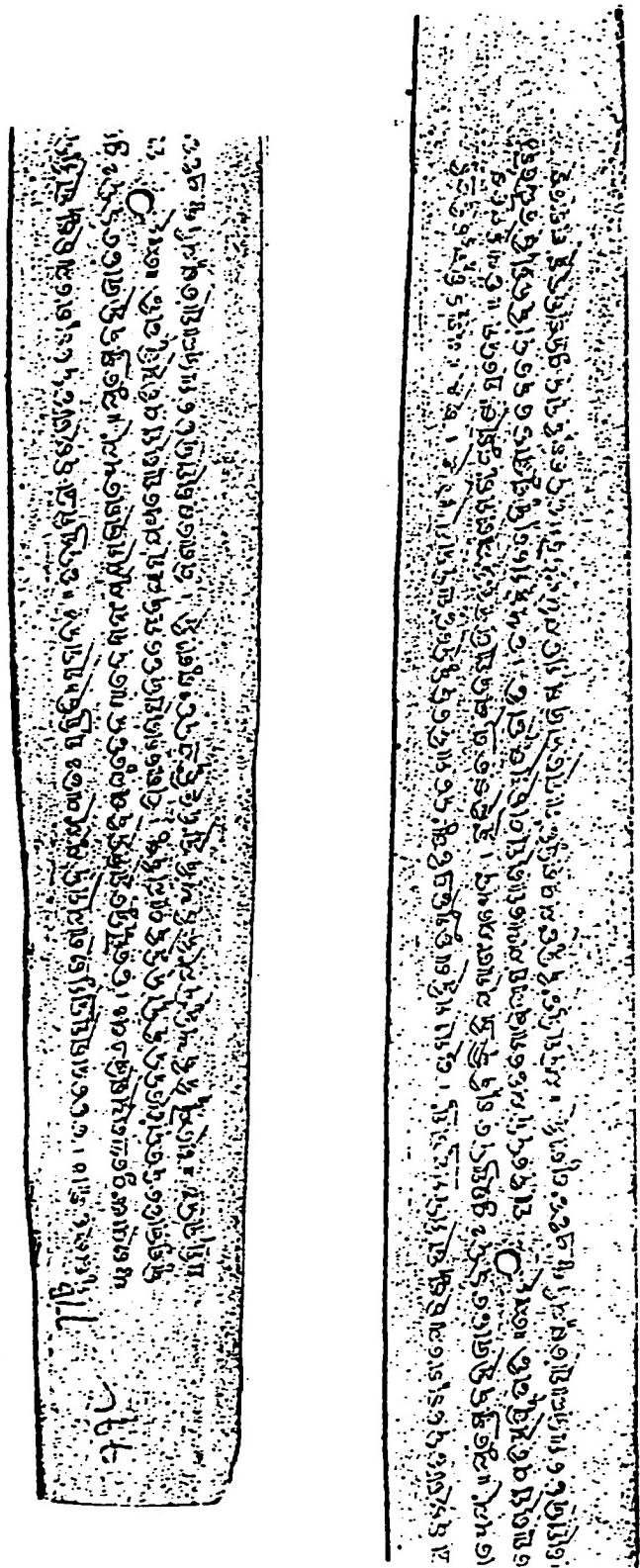


Figure III: Facsimile of Mā, a photocopy from original manuscripts in the possession of D. Bhattacharya. Obtained by M. Witzel in 1982

Ma_{2c}

A photocopy of folios 124-139 of Ma₂, a set of manuscripts from Mahantipura, used by D.M. Bhattacharya (1964, 1972) and D. Bhattacharya (1997). The palm-leaves were photocopied by D.M. Bhattacharya in Calcutta. The photocopy made by M. Witzel in 1982, Ma_{2c}, is a photocopy of Bhattacharya's photocopy. Oriya script. Unaccented. Approximately 38.5 x 3.5 cm. See Figure IV.

Ma is a set of manuscripts in five codices:

Ma ₁	kāṇḍa-s	I - V
Ma ₂	kāṇḍa-s	III- XV
Ma ₃	kāṇḍa-s	XVI
Ma ₄	kāṇḍa-s	XVII and XVIII.56
Ma ₅	kāṇḍa-s	XIX - XX

Folios are inscribed on both sides, labeled 'a' and 'b' probably by D.M. Bhattacharya. Each folio side generally has four lines of text (folio 139a has five lines of text; folio 139b has three lines of text).

Ma₃ has a colophon statement:¹¹⁶

vīra śrī mukundadeva mahārājāṅkara viśo subharājye samasta a10ṅke
vaiśākhaśukladvitīyā budhavāre vīrapuruṣottamapuraśāsan naramahājana-
jagannātha upādhyāyena likhitam idam pustakam.

¹¹⁶ Bhattacharya (1964: xviii).

“According to Sri Kendaratha Mahapatra of the Orissa State Museum, the date mentioned here falls on the year 1666 AD.”¹¹⁷ In addition, Ma₄ has another colophon statement: *śrīmadbalabhadramahārājā abīka vicchādi 26na ravivāra.*¹¹⁸ Mr. Mahapatra calculates this to be the year 1656 AD.¹¹⁹

Ma₂ marks the end of the first verse with a single *daṇḍa* |. The end of the stanza is marked by ||. End of the hymn is indicated by the number of the hymn and the number of verses in the hymn, for example, ||3|| ṣ 10||. Each folio has two holes through which a string was run in order to tie the entire book together.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., xviii.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., xviii.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., xviii.

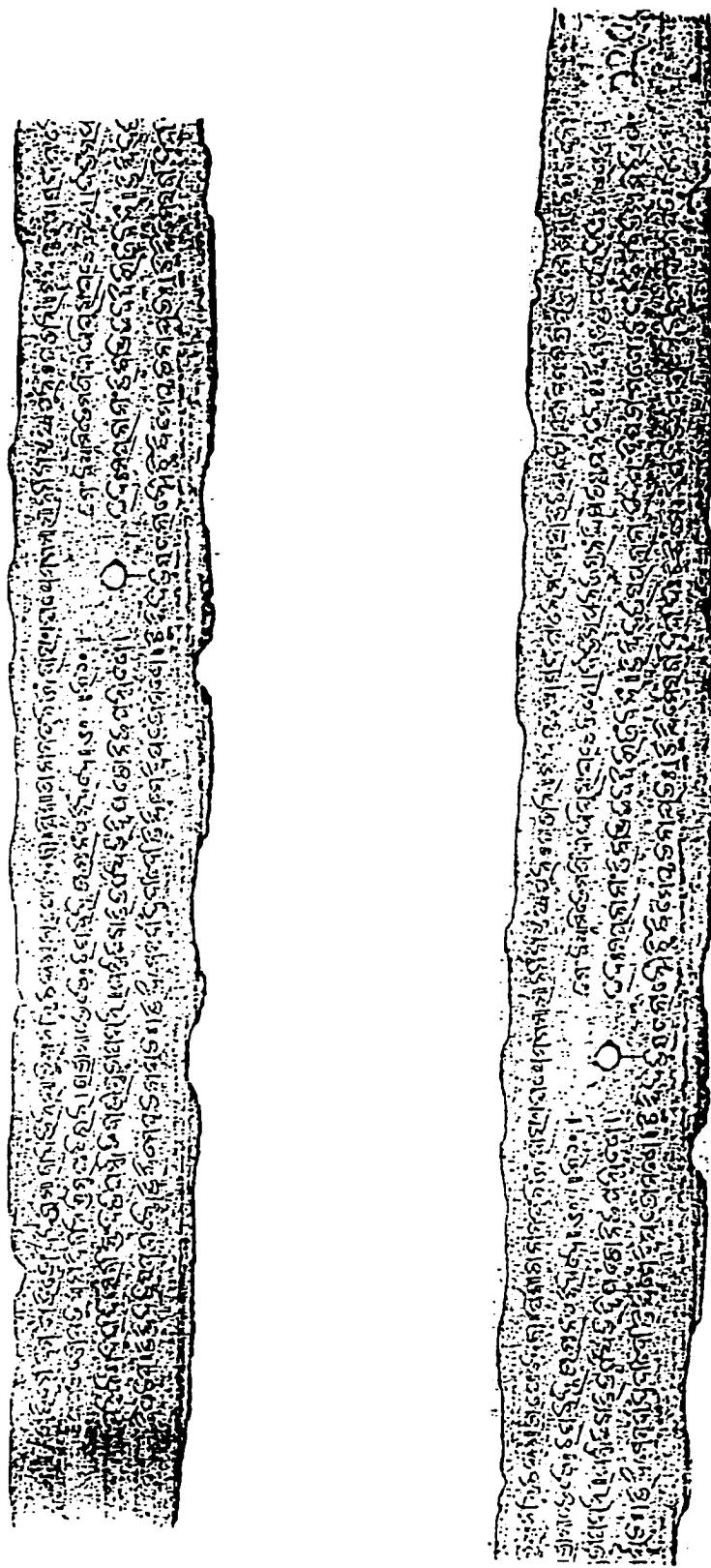


Figure IV: Facsimile of Ma, a photocopy from original manuscripts in the possession of Dipak Bhattacharya. Obtained by M. Witzel in 1982

Pa_c

A modern hand copy of a manuscript from the village of Parikula in Northern Orissa. The manuscript was photocopied by M. Witzel at the Paippalāda Pāṭhaśālā in Puri in 1986. In the late 1970's/early 1980's, the manuscript was sent to the Śaṅkarācārya in Kamakoti in Kañci. It seems to have been copied there and then returned to the pāṭhaśālā. In the 1970's, the manuscript was copied for a landholder in Baisīṅga, south of Baripada. The copy was made by a schoolteacher (Kuñja Bihārī) who taught in Singbum, Bihar. He copied the manuscript using carbon paper, which he kept for himself. The carbon paper copy is the source of our Pa_c.

The exemplar is a photocopy of a carbon paper copy, 8.5 x 13, typical Indian paper, slightly longer than the standard 8.5 x 11. Oriya script. Unaccented. The manuscript has no colophon indicating the date of the manuscript from which the copy was made. See Figure V below.

A statement indicating the end of the each book marks the end of each book 13 and 14. Each book begins on a new sheet of paper rather than continuing on the same sheet. Sheets are numbered on the upper right hand corner with Oriya numerals. The sheets are numbered from 169-210. The end of the first verse is marked by a single dāṇḍa |. The end of the stanza is marked by a double dāṇḍa, ||. End of pāda-s is irregularly marked with commas.

Figure V: Facsimile of Pa.

Gu_c

A modern hand copy of a manuscript in a private collection from the village of Guhiapal, near Baharagora in Singbhumi (East), Bihar. The manuscript was procured on behalf of M. Witzel by Dr. Nivedita Mohanty of Jamshedpur (Bihar).

The original manuscript has been copied onto notebook paper, approximately 8.5 x 12.5 in. Oriya script. Unaccented. No colophon is provided. Each line consists of one verse. The first verse is marked by a double danda ||. The end of the stanza is marked by the stanza number between double danda-s, for example ||7||. See Figure VI below.

Each hymn is numbered at the beginning rather than at the end, as is the usual fashion. Hymns are numbered with the book number followed by the hymn number, for example, 13-3. Each sheet of paper is numbered 95-119 on the upper right hand corner with printed numerals. A statement indicating the end of the each book marks the end of each book 13 and 14.

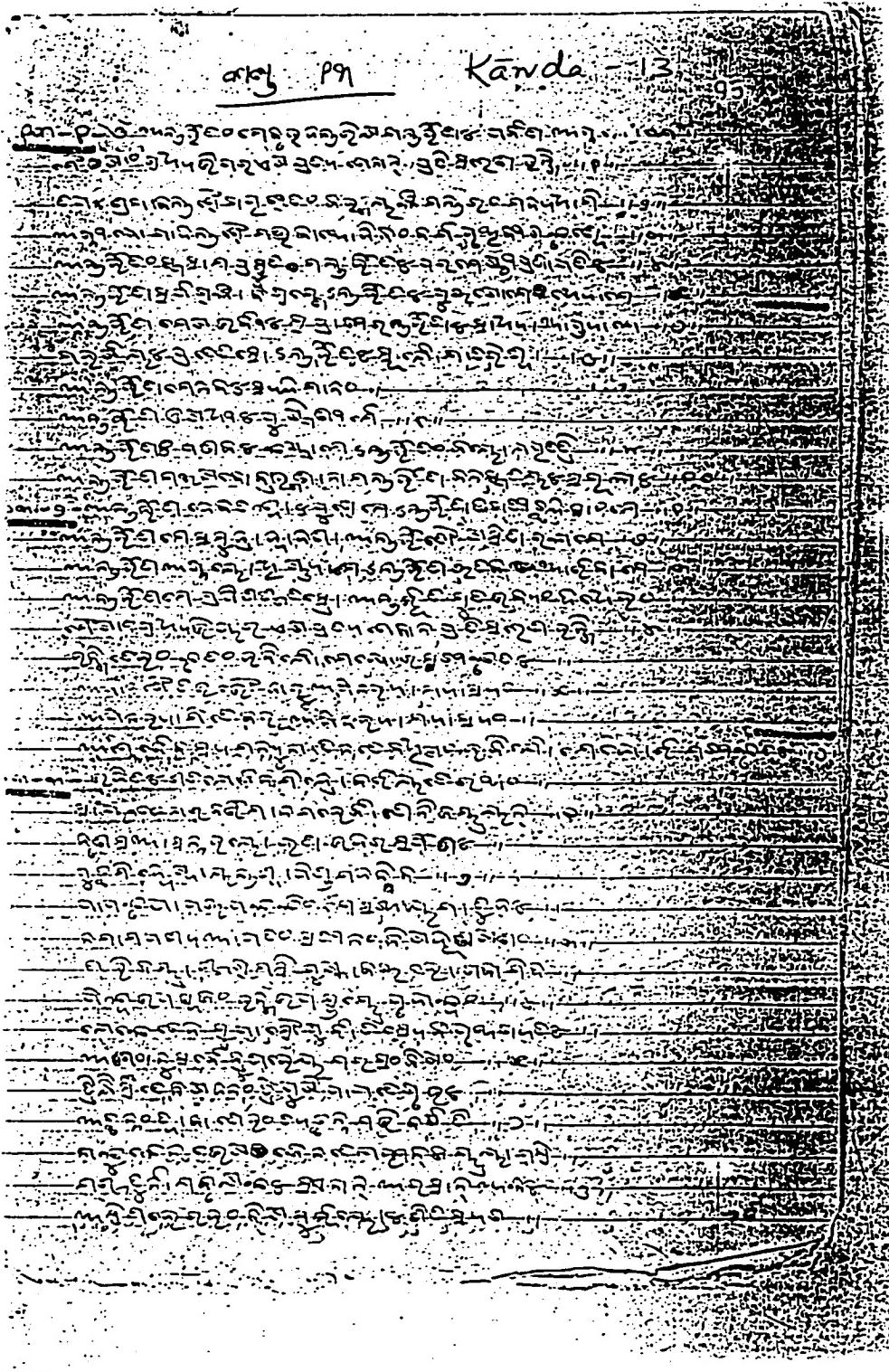
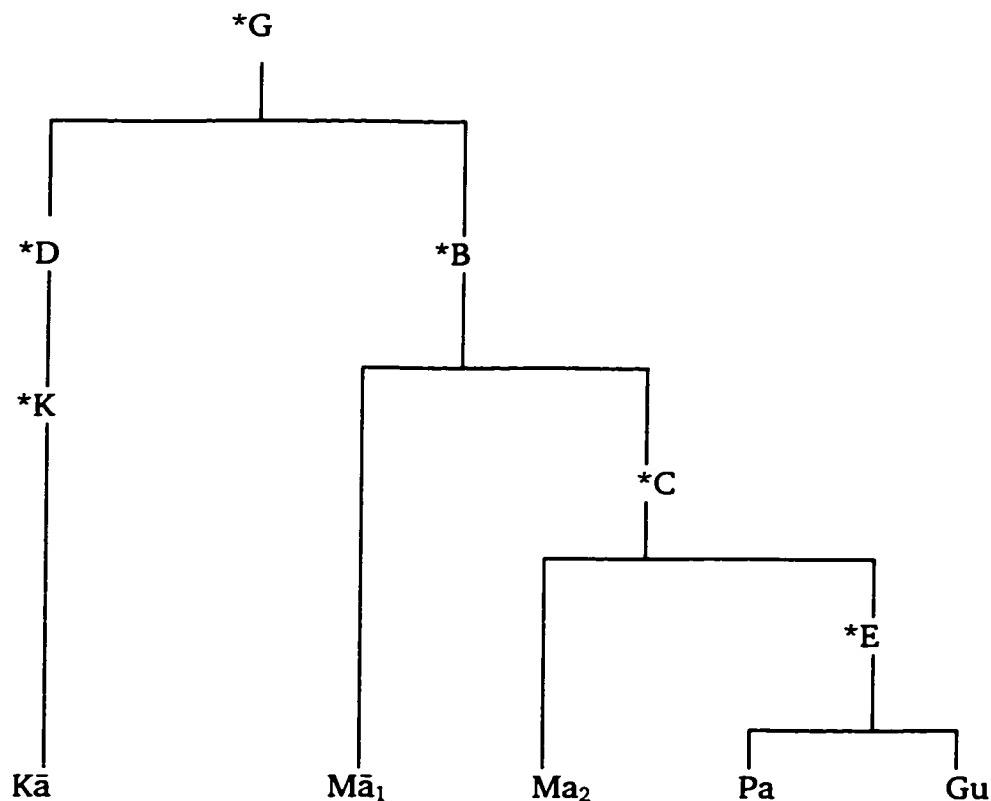


Figure VI: Facsimile of Gu

G Genealogical Relation of the Manuscripts

In the process of editing the PS, I have been rather lucky in one aspect: that I have dealt with a closed recension. This means that manuscript tradition has been free of contamination, and the manuscripts contain errors that could only have arisen if they were present in the exemplar from which they were copied. The following *stemma codicum* is the first published *stemma* proposing *G as the archetype of the PS from which all subsequent manuscripts were copied.



The Kashmiri Branch, PSK

The transmission of the Kashmiri branch of the PS has been discussed in detail by Witzel (1973, 1976), who has conclusively shown that all existing exemplars of PSK are copies of Kā, the manuscript in the Tübingen Library.

**K*

Kā, the representative of the Kashmiri Branch of the PS, derives from *D via an intermediary, *K, in an older form of Śāradā script ca. 14th century, which precedes Kā by 100-150 years. That this must be the case is indicated by several errors that are the typical result of copying into Śāradā from a Śāradā original.

One particular relic that leads to the above conclusion is the scant use of *prṣṭamātra* signs for medial vowels in Kā. Prṣṭamātra vowels were already obsolete in Śāradā by the 15th century. Another indication that Kā was copied from a manuscript in an older Śāradā script is the use of the old, initial i- with the three dots on top joined into a curve. This type of initial i- is already attested in manuscripts by the 15th century, as well as in older Śāradā inscriptions from Kashmir. This initial -i is used in Kashmiri manuscripts until the 16th century; after that, only the form with the curve is found.¹²⁰ Several other simple mistakes in copying from Śāradā to Śāradā are visible. The simplest one is probably the confusion of m and s. The following are some of the most common mistakes found throughout Kā:

¹²⁰ See Deambī (1982).

ta/u
th/s
kt/ku
nd/rd
bhy/ty

These mistakes are so common that one can even find them in the recent edition of D. Bhattacharya (1997). At PS 13.4.5, Bhattacharya notes the Kā variant: *"tvāmāsto viśvagviśamkhānabhiva"*. Kā actually reads: *"ānamiva"*, as correctly indicated by Barret and re-checked by me.¹²¹ When Bhattacharya or his reader¹²² of Kā copied the variants, he made the exact typical mistake that the scribe of Kā must have made several times, m ~ bh.

Since there are no dated Kashmiri manuscripts before the 15th century available, an accurate estimate based on archaic paleographic traits is difficult to confirm. However, according to Witzel (1973, 1976), the tentative conclusion that *K must have been older than 1450 is crucial as it is around this time that the PS was supposedly re-introduced into Kashmir by Yuddhabhaṭṭa. If, as it is

¹²¹ N.B. Both Barret and Bhattacharya have misread this reading in folio 141b2. They both have *"viśamkhāna"*? However, the aksara -kh- is not what the manuscript reflects. The aksara in the manuscript, in fact, does not resemble anything close to -kh-. It seems to reflect an older ligature probably -śm- in *D which has been misunderstood in *K. It is fairly clear that what the scribe of *K read in *B does not represent -śm-.

¹²² Bhattacharya mentions in his introduction that his brother made his Bengali transcript of the Orissa codices (Vā, Mā). One can only speculate as to the veracity of his statements about having checked Kā himself. From his apparatus, it is difficult to tell whether he consulted Kā or just Barret's or Raghu Vira's transcription and edition.

claimed by both Bhattacharya-s, based on the interpolated passage in Jonarāja's *Rājataranginī*, the oral tradition was also re-introduced, then one could have expected the oral tradition to have compensated for the many errors of the manuscript tradition. In fact, this is not the case, as can be seen by several features shared by both branches of the tradition, i.e. *lacunae* and shared unintelligible passages.

*D

The process of transmission of any text must be studied in stages. Errors of the Śāradā>Śāradā variety are not sufficient to explain all the corrupt readings in Kā via *K. If, as the above evidence strongly suggests, one rejects the so-called Yuddhabhaṭṭa-hypothesis, then one must assume that *K was copied from a manuscript which itself goes farther back in time. The remaining shared 'corrupt' readings in both branches of PS support this assumption. The two hyper-archetypes, namely *D and *B, must themselves descend from an older manuscript *G.

*D can be safely established on the ground of writing mistakes which arise, not when copying Śāradā>Śāradā, but rather when copying from Early Nāgarī > Śāradā. Typical errors found throughout Kā include:

u > ta
c > m
d > m
ś > m
th > ś

The following specific examples, unlike the ones listed above are not found as

often in Kā, but can only be explained as arising when copying from *D:

lh>hl	13.1.7	*balhikeṣu	> bahlikemukhu	Kā
ṣ > p	9.12.5	prāneṣu	> prāṇopu	Kā
h > ph	15.10.8	viśvahā	> viśvapha	Kā
d > ś	9.13.6	dūtau yamasya	> śatto yama°	Kā
kṣa>ndha	9.4.7	rakṣayādhvai	> randhayādhvai	Kā
ni > nyo	9.11.13	yonim	> yonyo	Kā

The Orissa Branch, PSO

The *stemma codicum* above shows for the first time the clear relationship of the manuscripts that represent the Orissa branch of the PS. D. Bhattacharya, in his recent edition of PS 1-15, was unable to discuss or simply neglected the discussion of this relationship.

*E

From the analysis of several factors including orthography, pronunciation, common readings, and common *lacunae*, one can see that Ma₂, Pa, and Gu stand in contrasting relation to Mā₁. This is most clear when one compares the many-shared *lacunae* among the Orissa manuscripts. In cases where Ma₂, Pa, and Gu share a *lacuna*, Mā₁ has the correct reading. For example:

15.16.4d	Kā	viṣasya viśadūṣānī z4z
	Mā _{1c}	viṣasya viśadūṣānī
	Ma _{2c}	viṣasya vi[]
	Pa _c	viṣasya vi[]
	Gu _c	viṣasya vi[]

This is nicely counterchecked by:

15.11.6d	Kā	indrasya vajram haviṣā ratham yaja z6z
	Mā _{1c}	indrasya [] haviṣā ratham yaja
	Ma _{2c}	indrasya vajram haviṣā ratham yaja
	Pa _c	indrasya vajram haviṣā ratham yaja
	Gu _c	indrasya vajram haviṣā ratham yaja

The relationship between Ma₂, Pa and Gu can be further narrowed. There is evidence to conclude that Pa and Gu are related to Ma₂ via an intermediary, *E.¹²³

For example:

13.8.1b	Kā	tān na pravrūhy adi*** pravettha
	Mā _{1c}	tān nah prabruhi yadi tān\ pravettha
	Ma _{2c}	tān nah prabruhi yadi tān\ pravettha
	Pa _c	tān nah prabruhi [] tān\ pravettha
	Gu _c	tan nah prabrahi [] tān\ pravettha

14.6.1c	Kā	ayutam̄ prayutam̄ bhavāksat
	Mā _{1c}	ayutam̄ prayutam̄ bhavāksatir
	Ma _{2c}	ayutam̄ prayutam̄ bhavāksatir
	Pa _c	ayutam̄ [] bhavāksatir
	Gu _c	ayutam̄ [] bhavāksatir

*B

The long written tradition of the Orissa branch of the PS is further clarified by many miswritings and most importantly by the *lacunae* found in all manuscripts representing the Orissa branch of PS. The numerous *lacunae* in the manuscripts could have been easily corrected if an even semi-stable oral tradition had existed.

Generally, *B can be deduced from the agreement of readings among the Orissa manuscript vs. Kā. This is quite clear from several instances, for example:

PS 14.6.4	Kā	śataudanā dvādaśāhena kalpate
	Mā _{1c}	śataudanā dvādaśāhena sammitā
	Ma _{2c}	śataudanā dvādaśāhena sammitā
	Pa _c	śataudanā dvādaśāhena sammitā
	Gu _c	śataudanā dvādaśāhena sammitā

¹²³ See also PS 13.7.3, 13.8.1, and 15.11.5.

However, agreement in true readings is not as significant as reading of secondary origin – corruptions and emendations.

Mistakes arising from the long written tradition of *B are more significant, for example:

PS 13.3.6ab	Kā	<u>tr̥mdam</u> te niṣadalam nr̥paśī pāpa te gr̥hah
	Mā _{1c}	triddhisi te niṣadanam tripusi pāpa te gr̥hah
	Ma _{2c}	triddhisi te niṣadanam tripusi pāpa te gr̥hah
	Pa _c	triddhisi te niṣadanam tripusi pāpa te gr̥hah
	Gu _c	triddhisi te niṣadanam tripusi pāpa te gr̥hah

The example below, PS 14.8.1b is particularly illustrative as it shows an error that probably goes back to the ur-AV:¹²⁴

Kā	-aśvaksara	suhavā sambhṛtaśīr
Mā _{1c}	-aśvaksatā	suhavā sambhṛtaśīr
Ma _{2c}	-aśvaksatā	suhavā sambhṛtaśīr
Pa _c	-aśvaksatā	suhavā sambhṛtaśīr
Gu _c	-aśvaksatā	suhavā sambhutasīr
ŚS	-aśvaksatā	suhavā sambhṛtaśīr
ŚS _{SPP}	-aśvaksabhā	suhavā sambhṛtaśīr

These two examples clearly represent a split in the written transmission of the text which must go back to an already garbled reading in *G.

An examination of the Orissa manuscripts shows many writing mistakes arise when copying from a proto-Bengali/Early Oriya original. Among the copying mistakes a scribe is liable to make are:

¹²⁴ This example is discussed extensively in the notes to PS 14.8.

m ~ s
c ~ r
Cv ~ Cy
t ~ u
p ~ v
ñ ~ u

Finally, the counter-check to any suggestion that our exemplars do not go back to *B in proto-Bengali/Early Oriya is the set of errors which remain after the phonetic peculiarities based on Oriya pronunciation and paleography. Some mistakes which remain can be understood only if we postulate *G, in Late Gupta/Early Nāgarī script. These errors then become clear if we follow the history of the transmission *G > *B.

The best evidence that indicates a common source is again *lacunae*. For *B, such proof is also available. PS 13.3.7 shows a *lacuna* shared by all Orissa manuscripts.¹²⁵ This important *lacuna*, which is crucial also as proof for *G is discussed in detail below.

¹²⁵ Additionally, other *lacunae* are partly shared by Orissa manuscripts. In particular, the *lacuna* in 15.20.1 is shared by *E and Kā but not by Mā_{1c}. This instance is still sufficient to indicate a *lacuna* in *B. It is quite possible that *B indeed had the *lacuna*, but it was corrected early on (long before c. 1600) in Mā₁ by the oral tradition. Other partially shared *lacunae* are found in PS 15.6.6 and 15.8.8. These *lacunae* were very likely already present in *G, but were corrected in some manuscript lines by the oral tradition, which must have been alive at the time of *G, *D and *B but certainly had disappeared by the time of *E. These examples are not part of the present dissertation but are part of my ongoing work with the Paippalāda Saṃhitā.

H *The Authentic Paippalāda Saṃhitā, *G*

The existence of the archetype from which both branches of the PS descend can be established based on two main lines of argumentation that complement each other. First, the archetype can be deduced from the remaining peculiarities of each branch that cannot be explained as the result of the influence of local language, paleographic developments, and/or learned corrections. Secondly, the common archetype can be proven, beyond much doubt, based on common *lacunae* in both branches of the tradition. The weight of the *lacunae* rests on the “principle that the most significant agreements between manuscripts are those involving omissions and transpositions...since these are not easily transmitted horizontally.”¹²⁶

The remaining mistakes or peculiarities on both branches of the PS tradition point to both *D and *B being descendants of a predecessor, which is neither of Kashmiri origin nor of Eastern or Bengali origin. This leads to the conclusion that both sub-archetypes, *D and *B, descend from a manuscript which must have come from somewhere in north or northwestern India.

The first formal feature that is apparent upon a glance at all the available manuscripts is the arrangement of the text of both branches into ‘hymns’ of 10 + x verses. This is particularly clear for the portion of the PS that is the topic of this dissertation.

¹²⁶ West (1973: 43).

One can see this arrangement in the AV Takman hymn, PSK 13.1 = PSO

12.1-2. This hymn, which consists of 16 stanzas in the PS, is arranged into $10 + x$ verses even in Kā, which normally does not re-number the stanza following the 10th one with number 1.¹²⁷ Both branches show that the original numbering of the PS was $10 + x$.¹²⁸

The same pattern is present in PS 15.10, which is RV 6.75.1-10. Only the first 10 verses are taken into the first hymn. The next hymn, PS 15.11, picks up after the insertion of ŚS 7.51.1 = PS 15.11.1, with RV 6.75.11, 14, 13 = PS 15.11.2, 4, 5, and other verses from the RV. Even though the entire Rgvedic hymn has not been taken into the PS collection, one would have expected that the ‘sacred’ Rgvedic hymn would have been preserved as a unit.

The reason why PS redactors have chosen this very peculiar arrangement still has to be investigated. However, this pattern may go back to an ur-AV arrangement since a similar division is found in ŚS. Whitney, in the introduction to his translation of the ŚS, has noted the division of longer hymns into *decad-sūkta-s*, which begins in the second grand division (at book 8). “[M]etrical hymns, being much longer than most of those in the first division, are themselves

¹²⁷ In this particular example, Kā marks the end of sūkta with z z after the 10th stanza. The following stanza is counted as number 1.

¹²⁸ However, the hymn has been misplaced in Kā. It properly belongs in book 12, a book consisting of hymns of 4 + 12 stanza, as is indicated by the statement in the manuscripts at the end of each book.

divided into verse-decads or groups of ten verses, five or more add verses at the end of a hymn counting as an added decad.”¹²⁹ It is noted that these decades are called sūkta-s by the commentators.

The *artha-sūkta* division also seems to be at work in the PS and ŚS.¹³⁰ According to Whitney, the commentators understand this system quite well as they note that ŚS 47 & 48, as well as 49 & 50, form ‘subject-matter hymns.’ Again, this type of division is clearly present in the PS as ŚS 49 & 50 = PS 14.8 & 9.

So, what can be said about the arrangement of the hymns in the PS, in both PSK and PSO? The arrangement and division of PSK can at best be called random throughout each book. A quick glance at Barrett’s introduction to each book tells us that there is very little consistency in each of the PSK books as to the arrangement.¹³¹ PSK 13 contains sūkta-s ranging in number from 10 to 28 stanzas that are not arranged within the kāṇḍa in any systematic way. Of those 14 sūkta-s in PSK 13, the ones found in PSO 13¹³² are not divided into decades or

¹²⁹ Whitney (1905: cxxxii-cxxxiii).

¹³⁰ Ibid., cxxxiii.

¹³¹ Unlike the RV, there is no sense of the hymns arrangement progressing in terms of increasing number of stanzas.

¹³² Those are PSK 12 = PSO 13.1, part of PSK 13.13 (PSK 11.1) = PSO 13.1-2, PSK 13.14 = PSO 13.7-9.

10 + X, but are rather found, generally, as single artha-sūkta-s.¹³³ PSK 14 similarly consists of hymns of 17, 20 and 30 stanzas. The sūkta-s in PSK 14 that are found in PSO 14¹³⁴ are again found in artha-sūkta-s in PSK. Thus, we can advance the idea that 10 + X is an arrangement which may make learning whole units (hymns) much easier than the longer *anūvaka* ‘the portion repeated after the teacher’ division.¹³⁵

Another peculiarity that can be observed from all the manuscripts is the method of abbreviating a stanza that has occurred elsewhere in the text of the samhitā and which is subsequently repeated for x-number of times. Both branches do this by shortening the repeated pāda, usually preserving the first one or two aksara-s and by marking the abbreviated section with *iti* [number] in PSO and *iti* [number] *rc* in PSK. For example, 14.1.2 - 5

Kā:	hiranyavarnā catasrah ṛ4 paṭhet
Mā _{1c}	hiranyavarnā iti catasrah
Ma _{2c}	[same]
Pa _c	[same]
Gu _c	hiranyavarnāh sucayah pāvaka....

The verses are found in PS 1.25.2 - 4. When the verse or stanza to be repeated is

¹³³ A good example of this is PSK 13.14 = PSO 13.7, 8 & 9.

¹³⁴ PSK 14.1 = PSO 14.1-2, PSK 14.2 = PSO 14.3-4, PSK 3= PSO 14.5-7 and PSK 14.4 = PSO 14.8-9 = ŚS 19.49-50

¹³⁵ According to D. Bhattacharya’s apparatus, some PS manuscripts (Kā and Vā) indicate anuvāka-division. The decad division of hymns must have another purpose other than teaching and learning.

part of the same hymn, the abbreviated verse is only indicated by the first one or two aksara-s being repeated in each subsequent elision. See, for example, PS 13.1 and PS 14.1.

This method of abbreviating verses is only limited to the PS. ŚŚ abbreviates repeated verses in a similar fashion.¹³⁶ Thus, this indicates that this practice must itself be part of the redacting tradition of the Atharva tradition.

The common archetype to both branches of the PS is further proved by common *lacunae*. The essential example, which solidifies the hypothesis of the existence of an archetype that is the common source of PSK and PSO, was discovered by Witzel (1985a). While working with the copies of the manuscripts that D. Bhattacharya made accessible during his research visit to Leiden, Witzel noticed that in PS 13.1 the word *antarhitā* was repeated at the beginning of verses 13.1.4 - 10, and continuing in 13.2.1-5. However, in PS 13.1.7 the word at the beginning of the verse is omitted in all manuscripts. At the time of his initial discovery in 1981, Witzel only had available to him Kā, Mā_{1c} and Ma_{2c}. Since that time, we have acquired two additional manuscripts, namely, Pa_c and Gu_c, which have this *lacuna*.

It may be argued that this is a simple mistake: the scribe skipped over the

¹³⁶ Whitney notes the *pratīka* abbreviation with the use of *ity* + number (sc. ṛc). He also notes: “the *pratīka* embraces the first word, or the first two [or even the first three, when one or two of them are enclitics].” See Whitney (1905: cxix).

word, and thus this cannot be sufficient evidence to postulate a common ancestor. That argument could hold if only one or two of the manuscripts had the *lacunae*. However, all of our exemplars share this precise *lacuna*. The argument that this is just a simple accident is insufficient for two reasons. First, even if we were to consider our manuscripts to be five independent manuscripts, it is seems inconceivable that five separate scribes could have made exactly same mistake at exactly the same place, not one aksara more not one aksara less! Secondly, this mistake is one that could be avoided by any scribe who was paying attention to what he was copying. He copied *antarhitā* at the beginning of two preceding verses and continued to copy that same word for eight verses following.

One must conclude that this gap was already present in the manuscripts from which the scribes where copying the hyper-archetypes (*C, *E and *K) from which our surviving exemplars derive. Therefore, the *lacuna* must have already been present in the sub-archetypes corresponding to the two branches, namely *D and *B, and in *G, the common ancestor to *D and *B.

The fact that this *lacuna* has not been corrected at any point in the history of the transmission of the PS proves the poor quality¹³⁷ of the oral tradition

¹³⁷ The oral tradition of the PS must have continued after the time archetype, as is proven by some lacunae which are partially shared among manuscript lines. A detailed comparison of the existing (secondary) oral tradition of the PS with the manuscripts should shed more light on this question.

already by the time of the archetype.¹³⁸ It further indicates that the transmission of the PS had been a written one long before 1419, the date of Kā and the supposed date around which the PS was re-imported into Kashmir by Yuddhabhaṭṭa. These conclusions only contribute to the list of evidence that must lead to the conclusion that the PS was indeed not brought back to Kashmir by Yuddhabhaṭṭa. Rather, a likely scenario may be that the PS had already made its way to Kashmir, with many of its corruptions, already in a written manuscript (probably *D), and our Kā is its descendant.

¹³⁸ This *lacuna* is clearly present in the present day oral tradition of the Paippalādins in Orissa. During his research trip in 1986, Witzel had the opportunity to listen to the recitation of this hymn. The *lacuna* was clearly present. The reciters were not aware of the gap in their recitation. Personal communication with Michael Witzel, Harvard University, Cambridge MA, April 15, 2000.

THE CRITICAL EDITION, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

My aim has not been to produce an edition of the PS according to R̄gvedic peculiarities, ŚŚ peculiarities, or, even worse, to produce an edition of an Ur-AV. The aim has been to produce an edition of the authentic Paippalāda Saṁhitā which reflects *G, the written archetype. The present critical edition can be called ‘authentic’ because it aims to preserve peculiar Paippalāda readings, which potentially but improperly could be corrected according to some other tradition.¹³⁹

“Lower” criticism has been used to reconstruct the authentic PS, stressing primarily the evidence provided by PS manuscripts. The first step has been to try to ascertain that a conjectured reading can be explained as the result of errors due to the transmission of our text. The two sources of errors, discussed in Chapter II, are the influence of local languages upon the recitation of Vedic and copying mistakes due to the scripts involved. The counter check – seeing the error produced from the conjectured reading – has also been carried out. Once a

¹³⁹ See Hoffmann (1968a).

reading has been arrived at by this method, it must then be considered authentic to the PS. If my conjecture produces a reading that makes good grammatical sense and is grammatically satisfying, then my job is more or less done. If however, the reading produces an authentically peculiar reading then, it must be further considered within the scope of grammar, poetics and history of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā. It is then that “higher” criticism may “address itself to further questions of interpretation and of the influences that have worked upon the text.”¹⁴⁰

A Punctuation

Daṇḍa

All manuscripts mark the end of the first verse and the end of the stanza with a single daṇḍa | and a double daṇḍa ||, respectively. It is to be noted that Kā generally uses the symbol z as well as |, as its daṇḍa. The end of the first verse is irregularly marked in Ka with z ; sometimes it is marked with |. The end of the stanza with a double mark, zz;¹⁴¹ again, sometimes it is marked with z or |.

Mā_{1c} marks the pāda-s¹⁴² boundary more or less regularly with a small stroke, ', placed just above the line of text between a/b and c/d. In the present edition, the pāda boundaries have been marked with a smaller superscripted

¹⁴⁰ Garzilli (1996: 14).

¹⁴¹ zz is generally used to mark the end of the hymn.

¹⁴² In this discussion, pāda refers to the foot or quarter that constitutes a stanza.

daṇḍa, ¹. Where Mā_{1c} does not mark the pāda boundary, it has been indicated as ¹¹¹ in order to show this important detail about the transmission of the PS. For the most part, Mā_{1c} marks pāda boundaries throughout PS 13 and 14. Pa_c seems to sporadically mark pāda boundaries, with its usual commas, throughout 13 and 14.¹⁴³

Virāma

Both branches regularly use the *virāma* to mark final consonants that are not followed by an unexpressed -a. I have marked the *virāma* with (.)

Avagraha

The *avagraha* singed in not used consistently by all manuscripts. Kā never uses the *avagraha* sign, even in places where abhinihitā sandhi is applied and the a- has been dropped. The Orissa manuscripts irregularly use the sign; however, when it is used all manuscripts generally agree on its usage.¹⁴⁴ For the most part, both branches do not us the sign where abhinihitā sandhi is applied, i.e., -e a- > -e '-, -o a- > - o '-. In order to aid the reader, where the manuscripts have applied abhinihitā sandhi and dropped the initial a, the edition will indicate [']-.

¹⁴³ Pa_c has not been followed when marking pāda boundaries because of the general inconsistency the manuscripts shows in this regard.

¹⁴⁴ There are 8 instances where all Orissa manuscript agree in the usage of the *avagraha*. In 5 other instances, only some of the manuscript use the sign. Generally, when abhinihitā sandhi is applied, *avagraha* is note used. *B probably did not use *avagraha*.

B Sandhi

Abhinihitā sandhi of the type -o' - and -e' - is not consistently applied in the manuscripts. As Macdonell notes, a- is often not written in the saṃhitā-s.¹⁴⁵ In the AV in particular, it is dropped about two-thirds of the time. See above under avagraha.

Homorganic nasals: -ṅ, -ñ, -ṇ, -ṇ, m

The manuscripts are not consistent in their spelling of final nasals. It is unclear whether this really reflects the situation in the archetype. As has been shown by Witzel (1985b, 1994), both branches of the Paippalāda tradition have definite phonetic 're-interpretations' of final nasal sounds. This may indicate a trace of an oral tradition at an early period. In certain places, it looks like there is wholesale substitution of anusvāra for all final homorganic nasals. However, alongside this situation, one finds instances of the correct use of the homorganic nasals.

Neither the Orissa nor the Kashmir branches regularly distinguish anusvāra (-ṁ) and anunāsika (-ṁ̥). Both branches tend to write -ṁ throughout. However, there are several instances in the Orissa text of -āñ a-, which seem to indicate that at least in the Orissa branch -ṅ is the way in which anunāsika is written. This is confirmed by the use of anunāsika, written by ∩,¹⁴⁶ in Kā in many of the same

¹⁴⁵ Macdonell (1910: 66).

¹⁴⁶ This is the way older manuscripts from Kashmir (RV, KS, PS) write

places where the Orissa manuscripts use ñ.

For the purposes of the edition, the final sandhi of nasals has not been standardized. When both branches disagree as to the use of the anusvāra, anunāsika, or homorganic nasal, the homorganic nasal or anunāsika has been edited against m̄. In instances where the branches disagree, Orissa, for the most part, tends to have the correct homorganic nasal.¹⁴⁷ There are also instances of retrograde re-interpretation where, especially in the Orissa manuscripts, -m̄ has been phonetically re-interpreted as -n. These instances have been corrected to indicate the correct -m̄. Anusvāra-s have not been “corrected” to homorganic nasals.

Sibilant Sandhi: h/h/h

Texts transmitted and preserved in Kashmir use two additional spirant sounds, the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmāniya*.¹⁴⁸ Before gutturals, final s becomes *jihvāmūliya* (h) and before labials, it becomes *upadhmāniya* (h). PSK is

anunāsika. The paleographic development of the anunāsika symbol from Late Gupta script ñ to its outcome in Śāradā and Oriya (ñ + m), according to Witzel (1983), preserves the two elements prominent in pronunciation. -ñ a- reflects the situation in the archetype and has thus been preserved in the present edition against -m̄ a-. See Witzel (1983: 19).

¹⁴⁷ In the Orissa manuscripts, the wholesale substitution of anusvāra for homorganic nasals and anunāsika seems to have been the work of an educated scribe(s) at a point in the transmission beyond the sub-archetypes *D and *B.

¹⁴⁸ Ikari (1995) has noted that this archaic feature is found in older Vedic manuscripts from Kerala. Manuscripts from other parts of South India also mark h and h̄.

generally consistent in its use of these two graphemes.¹⁴⁹ The Orissa manuscripts do not recognize a distinction of these two sounds from the ‘normal’ \underline{h} .

Although, as has been pointed out by Witzel (1994), $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$ is an old feature of Vedic, we cannot be certain that the archetype actually differentiated $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$. This may have been the case, or that when the PS tradition reached Kashmir and began to be transmitted there, $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$ were systematically inserted into the manuscripts by learned scribes. While Kā regularly uses $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$, there many instances where these graphemes are used incorrectly. In light of the normal use of $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$ in the Kāṭha school, which only survives in Kashmir, it is difficult to imagine that the scribe of Kā ($<^*K < ^*D$) could have been so inconsistent in his understanding of these graphemes. On the surface, the inconsistent use of $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$ in Kā could point to a situation where $*D$ may not have used $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$ but only \underline{h} . When $*K$ was copied from $*D$, $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$ could have been reintroduced in an already inconsistent manner.

If $*G$ actually had $\underline{h}/\underline{h}/\underline{h}$, we would expect to see in the surviving manuscripts a possible misinterpretation of the sign for \underline{h} and \underline{h} when being copied ($*G > ^*K > Kā$). The result would be a garbled akṣara at the end of words where the next word begins with k- or p-. This counter check, which would

¹⁴⁹ This may perhaps indicate a reflection in Kā of a tradition in $*D$ or possibly $*G$ where the consistent understanding of the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* was beginning to deteriorate.

clarify the sibilant situation in *G has not surfaced.¹⁵⁰

However, although we have thus far not seen such garbled aksara-s, there are instances in our manuscripts, especially in the Orissa manuscripts, where even the expect visarga has been dropped. These instance hint that already in the archetype of the PS, there were problems in the recognition of h/h/h. In these instances, neither a garbled aksara has not been transmitted nor a visarga has been re-inserted.

Although direct evidence of h/h/h is not yet apparent, the sandhi -s s- and -ś ś- (see below), and especially of -s Cs- > -∅ Cs-, lend support to the probability that the original situation in *G was h/h/h. For this edition, h/h/h have been systematically re-inserted into the text of the authentic PS.

-s s-, -ś ś-

Both -s s- and -ś ś- are used throughout manuscripts of both branches of the PS. There is often disagreement in particular instances, and some manuscripts will have -h s- or -h ś-. However, in many of the instances where -s s- and -ś ś- is used, both branches are unanimous in their usage. This sandhi has been adopted as the standard in the edition.

-s sC- > -∅ sC-

There is evidence in the manuscripts from both branches to indicate that in

¹⁵⁰ CA 2.2.1 indicates that the use of h/h/h was the norm in the Śaunaka tradition. However, Whitney (1905) points out that the manuscripts do not distinguish h/h/h. See Deshpande (1997).

the archetype final -s when followed by sC- was dropped. This is an old feature that is indicated by prātiśākhyas of the RV, TS, and VS and is generally followed by all manuscripts of PS.¹⁵¹ In order to show this important feature of the tradition, the present edition indicates where it has been applied with corrected sandhi, i.e. -<s> sC-. This sandhi also lends to support to the assumption that -s- sandhi is characteristic of the archetype.

ch for śch and cch

Kā writes -śch- for RV -ch-. In later Sanskrit, this is normally written as -cch-. The Orissa manuscripts consistently write -ch-. At issue is the old pronunciation of -ch- as cluster, from *-sk̄-.¹⁵² Rgvedic meter indicates that this -ch- must be measured long and thus pronounced as a cluster. This pronunciation is also reflected in older manuscripts from the Katha School, which write -śch. The writing -śch- reflects an older pronunciation [t̄sh].¹⁵³ I have adopted the standard Rgvedic -ch- that is used by the Orissa manuscripts

C + r > CCr; r + C > rCC

Both branches of the PS tend to double consonants before or after r. Kā regularly writes CCr < Cr as well as rCC < rC. Since these are not etymological

¹⁵¹ Cf. Ikari (1995).

¹⁵² *gachati* (RV) < *gæ-ścæ-ti < *gm̄-sk̄-ti.

¹⁵³ In manuscripts of VādhŚS in Malayalam, we find -cś- instead of -cch- in order to indicate -śch-. In one early VādhŚS manuscript, we also find -chś-. See Ikari (1995: 14-15).

in nature and are probably optional, with Pāṇini 8.4.46, double consonants have not been edited, but have been noted as variants in the apparatus.¹⁵⁴

-V̄V- for -VdV-

Kā, as well as the Orissa manuscripts, use an additional diacritic mark with the sign for -d- to indicate -l-, the intervocalic allophone that is used in the RV. -l- has been adopted throughout the edition.

-b-, -v-

Oriya script does not distinguish between b and v. I have followed standard, etymological Sanskrit orthography in the regularization of these sounds.

C *Accentuation*

The Orissa manuscripts of the PS are unaccented and Kā is only sporadically accented. However, in the parts where it is accented, Kā generally shows correct accentuation especially when compared to ŚS variants. This clearly indicates that at least *K must have been partly accented and that *D, in early Western Nāgarī must have been accented, probably in a system similar to that used in the Katha Samhitā.

The edited text has been accented only in those sections where the variant readings in Kā are accented. These sections are the only ones for which we can be certain that the authentic text was accented. Without fully accented PS manuscript, the only other ground for accenting the text would be by following

¹⁵⁴ Cf. CA 3.28.

the accentuation of variants in RV, ŚŚ, MS, TS, etc.

D **Meter**

Most of the secondary literature on the meter of the Atharvaveda (what little there is) generally contains statements that speak of the loose character of its meter. Thus, Whitney writes: “The two striking features of the Atharva-Veda as regards its metrical form are the extreme irregularity and the predominance of anuṣṭubh stanzas.”¹⁵⁵ Little effort has gone into studying the meter as it actually occurs in the AV in order to learn what are the acceptable metrical variations allowed in Post-R̥gvedic texts.

D. M. Bhattacharya and D. Bhattacharya have done nothing in this regard in their respective editions of portions of the PS. In his edition of PS 2, Zehnder (1999) has provided an analysis of each pāda after having normalized the meter by either restoring (in the case of abhinihitā sandhi) or deleting syllables. Griffith (1998) followed the same method.

The present edition follows the same metrical analysis. In addition, I have provided a summary of openings, cadences, and breaks in trimeter verses, following the method of van Nooten and Holland (1994). Table V, VI, and VII below provide a breakdown of the pāda-s following the order of distribution found in the RV. In this manner, one can see a correlation of distribution of the

¹⁵⁵ Whitney (1905: cxxvi).

PS pāda-s as compared to the RV pādas. Only pāda-s that could be normalized have been counted.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Pāda-s of PS 13.5-6 = RV 1.94 have not been included in the calculations.

Table V
Summary of Cadences (PS 13 - 14)

Anuṣṭubh

	PS 13	PS 14	Total	PS %	RV %
ु - ु X	104	63	167	70.46	80.32
ु ु ु X	7	4	11	4.64	4.10
ु - - X	12	6	18	7.59	3.26
- - ु X	11	0	11	4.64	2.77
- ु ु X	4	3	7	2.95	2.39
- - - X	5	6	11	4.64	1.93
ु ु - X	5	0	5	2.11	1.43
- ु - X	3	4	7	2.95	1.31

Trīṣṭubh

- ु - X	58	117	175	83.33	94.30
ु ु - X	3	0	3	1.43	1.49
- ु ु X	0	5	5	2.38	0.92
- - - X	4	5	9	4.29	0.61
ु - ु X	2	7	9	4.29	0.15
- - ु X	3	6	9	4.29	0.15
ु - - X	0	0	0	0.00	0.12
ु ु ु X	0	0	0	0.00	0.10

Jagatī

- ु - ु X	3	20	23	71.88	95.80
ु ु - ु X		0	0	0.00	1.64
- ु ु ु X		0	0	0.00	0.69
ु - - - X		1	1	3.13	0.24
ु - ु ु X	1	3	4	12.50	0.18
- - ु - X		2	2	6.25	0.08
ु ु ु - X		1	1	3.13	0.04
- ु ु - X		1	1	3.13	0.02
ु - - ु X		0	0	0.00	0.02
- - ु ु X		0	0	0.00	0.02

Table VI
Breaks in Trimeter verse (PS 13-14)

Trimeter After 4 th	PS 13	PS 14	Total	PS %	RV %
υ υ -	17	37	54	37.24	50.86
- υ -	17	31	48	33.10	20.70
υ υ υ	5	14	19	13.10	14.72
- υ υ	5	10	15	10.34	8.50
υ - υ	1	3	4	2.76	3.75
υ - -	0	0	0	0.00	1.80
- - -	0	1	1	0.69	0.85
- - υ	0	1	1	0.69	0.62
υ υ -	0	1	1	0.69	0.00
After 5 th					
- υ υ	15	37	52	52.53	51.81
υ υ υ	7	22	29	29.29	29.89
υ - υ	2	1	3	3.03	11.83
- - υ	2	3	5	5.05	3.19
- υ -	2	3	5	5.05	1.77
υ υ -	0	0	0	0.00	0.35
- - -	1	0	1	1.01	0.64
υ - -	0	1	1	1.01	0.35

Table VII
Summary of Openings (PS 13 - 14)

Anuṣṭubh

	PS 13	PS 14	Total	PS %	RV %
X - - -	46	19	65	27.43	34.79
X - u -	28	14	42	17.72	26.55
X u - -	16	12	28	11.81	14.27
X - - u	33	17	50	21.10	10.82
X u - u	15	14	29	12.24	5.63
X - u u	8	5	13	5.49	5.57
X u u -	3	5	8	3.38	0.02
X u u u	2	0	2	0.84	0.00

Trīṣṭubh

X - u -	27	43	70	33.33	40.87
X - - -	18	51	69	32.86	30.30
X u - -	10	20	30	14.29	8.59
X - - u	9	11	20	9.52	7.74
X - u u	1	7	8	3.81	5.48
X u u -	1	4	5	2.38	2.44
X u - u	4	4	8	3.81	2.06
X u u u	0	0	0	0.00	0.44

Jagatī

X - u -	3	17	20	60.61	45.65
X - - -		4	4	12.12	31.11
X u - -		1	1	3.03	8.22
X - - u		1	1	3.03	4.29
X - u u	1	2	3	6.06	5.18
X u - u		2	2	6.06	2.32
X u u -		1	1	6.06	1.54
X u u u		0	0	3.03	0.45

From the admittedly small sample of PS mantra-s contained in the present dissertation, one can gain a better insight into the metrical distributions of this old text as compared to the RV. From the above tables, one can see that the variation in the percentages of distribution in the PS vs. the RV are not as drastic as might be expected.

A examination of the openings¹⁵⁷ and, especially, cadences of anuṣṭubh, triṣṭubh and jagatī verses shows that the only significant variation is that the PS poets have a preference for particular distributions of what van Nooten and Holland have termed uncommon patterns.¹⁵⁸

Anuṣṭubh pāda-s: The distribution of An. openings is quite consistent with the RV distribution patterns.¹⁵⁹ The main variation of the PS An. openings is a preference

¹⁵⁷ In general, as noted by van Nooten and Holland (1994), openings are less important in determining the metrical shape of a pāda. A glance at Tables III and V shows that opening patterns in dimeter and trimeter lines are more widely distributed than the correspond cadences.

¹⁵⁸ It is difficult to get a sense of what constitutes uncommon vs. rare distribution from van Nooten and Holland's introduction. For anuṣṭubh cadences, they note five uncommon patters and two rare patterns. No such mention is made of the uncommon and rare distribution of trimeter opening, cadences, or breaks. When one calculates the percentages based on their summaries, a pattern seems to appear by which they judge uncommon vs. rare. Anuṣṭubh: patterns that show up less than about 2% of the time seems to be counted rare and those that appear 5 % - 2 % are uncommon. Triṣṭubh: less than 1% rare and 10% - 1% are uncommon. Jagatī: less than 0.5% rare and between 10% - .5% are uncommon. I have followed this pattern, making adjustments where the percentages vary in absolute value.

¹⁵⁹ Irregular openings of anuṣṭubh pāda-s with clear divergence from the expected

for X -- u, X u - u, and X u -- over other uncommon patterns. Cadences also show two preferred patterns among the uncommon patterns.

Tristubh pāda-s: The distribution of opening patterns in tristubh pāda-s is virtually the same as that of the RV. Cadences, however, show a marked preference for the lower distributions of Rgvedic uncommon patterns.

Jagatī pāda-s: Based on the small number of Jagatī pāda-s in our sample, again both openings have a preference the lower distribution of uncommon patterns in RV. This can be seen most seen in the cadence pattern u - u u X which occurs only .018% in the RV but is the preferred uncommon pattern in the PS.

Trimeter Breaks: As can be observed in Table IV, the trimeter break patterns, especially those with caesura after 4th syllable do not vary much from the Rgvedic distribution. There is slightly more variation in patterns with caesura after the 5th.

Provisionally, we can conclude that in reality the AV meter is far more regular than we are often lead to believe by the secondary literature on the subject. There is no wild clustering of uncommon patterns, and there is certainly no increased preference by AV poets for rare patterns. It seems that the poets of PS mantra-s were as skilled as their Rgvedic counterparts in choosing metrically

iambic pattern can be seen down to the epic period, i.e. *asid rājā | virasena* u - - | - u - u. On the general lack of preference for an iambic patter, except in cadences, see van Nooten and Holland (1994: ix-x).

acceptable combinations.¹⁶⁰

The system of metrical analysis here is the same as adopted by Zehnder (1999) in his re-edition of PS 2. In the present edition, the following notation is used:

8	anuṣṭubh pāda
8^	catalectic ¹⁶¹ or heptasyllabic anuṣṭubh pāda (cadence $\cup - x$)
^8	acephalic ¹⁶² anuṣṭubh pāda
10	triṣṭubh pāda lacking one syllable
11	triṣṭubh pāda
11 ^J	Jagatī-pāda lacking one syllable
12	Jagatī pāda
12^	Hypersyllabic Triṣṭubh pāda

E Critical Apparatus, Translation, and Notes

The critical apparatus and notes provide variants readings of all manuscripts and other texts that used in the edition. I have adopted the apparatus used by Ykari (1995). This apparatus provides variant readings to the edited text. When all manuscripts agree, no variant has been noted and the reading in the text represents the readings of the manuscripts. Any variant from the edited text has been indicated in the apparatus, even the most evident of

¹⁶⁰ Of the metrical variations allowed in the AV is needed. It is surprising that 100 + years after the edition of the ŠS by Whitney, no scholar has taken on this task. Instead, we continue to be guided by *ad hoc* statements about the lower quality of AV meter.

¹⁶¹ A catalectic verse is a dimeter verse with a normal dimeter rhythm that has lost its last syllable.

¹⁶² An acephalic verse is one where the first syllable has been lost.

scribal errors (i.e., m ~ s), errors due to sandhi, and variant punctuation. I have chosen this apparatus, against Zehnder's and Griffith's choice of a "positive" apparatus,¹⁶³ because it is less cumbersome to future users of this edition. The presentation of the text and variants independently of discussion allows the text to be better understood and studied.¹⁶⁴

The translation of the text is a literal one. It has not been my intention either to reproduce scripture or to provide a linguistically-oriented translation. In the very act of translating, I have interpreted the text. However, I hope to have made such interpretations within the context of grammar, and what we know about Vedic culture, in particular early Vedic culture of the Mantra-period.

All relevant discussion of the edited text and translation is found in the Notes. The notes provide information on variant readings, metrical problems, and points of grammar, as well as contextual. The notes are keyed to the appropriate verse in the edition and are presented with variants first, followed by metrical notes, grammatical discussion, and lastly contextual notes. Individual words or phrases under discussion are bolded. The notes to the translation aim to provide

¹⁶³ See West (1973: 86-88).

¹⁶⁴ With West (1973: 7-9), I agree that the value of critical edition is not whether it establishes a text as "the text" forever, but, rather, the questions that it can bring out of its future users. In separating the text and variants from the notes, the text is left free of additional commentary for "new eyes and minds" to examine new problems as well as old unresolved ones.

the specialist and non-specialist reader alike with background and discussion of some important term and concepts presented in the text. References have been made to relevant scholarship.

G Sigla and Editorial Marks

Sigla

B _T	Barret's reading of Kā.
Bh	Bhattacharya (1997) edition of the PS.
Gu _c	Photocopy of a manuscript from Guhiapal.
Kā	The Kashmirian birch-bark manuscript.
Mā _{1c}	Photocopy of a manuscript from Mākanda, used by Bhattacharya.
Ma _{2c}	Photocopy of a manuscript from Mahantipur, used by Bhattacharya.
NU	Edited text of the Nīlarudra Upaniṣad
Pa _c	Photocopy of a manuscript from Parikula.
ŚS	Śaunaka Saṃhitā, as edited by Roth and Whitney
ŚS _{SPP}	Śaunaka Saṃhitā, as edited by Śaṅkar Pāṇḍurāṇ Pandit

Editorial Marks

?	Denotes illegible aksara-s, either in part or entirely. The number of ? attempts to approximate the number of illegible aksara-s. ? followed by a vowel indicates that the consonant portion of the aksara was illegible. ? following a consonant indicates that the vowel portion of the aksara could not be determined.
(←)	Indicates a marginal scribal correction.
+	Reading in the archetype, *G, based on manuscript evidence, which has been established based on paleographic developments, phonetics, or grammar.
*	Reading restored beyond the reconstructed reading of the archetype, *G.

•	Marks a syllabic rest in the meter of the verse.
om.	The word or sign is not found in the specified manuscript.
[text]	Text contained within square brackets has been abbreviated in the manuscripts, indicating that the full text was provided earlier in the same hymn or elsewhere in the <i>samhitā</i> . For the purpose of presenting the complete text of the PS, I have decided not to abbreviate repeated. [text] have also been used in the translation to indicate abbreviated text.
<text>	Indicates text that is not in the manuscripts and would not be found in the archetype, but has been inserted in order to show the sandhi of the archetype.
(text)	In the translation, text contained in parenthesis has been added to make the translation smoother. It does not represent text that is part of the archetype.
Subscript, small type (a, i, u, etc.)	Metrically restored syllables.
Superscript, small type (ā, ī, ū, etc.)	Metrically deleted syllables.
<u>Underlined text:</u>	Corrupt text that cannot be convincingly reconstructed for one archetype or an emendation that would lead to a senseless or uncertain reading. The translations of these readings have also been underlined even when a proposed emendation – no in the edited text – has been translated.

¹ oṁ	
antarhitam̄ me bṛhad ² antariks̄am̄ antarhitah ³ parvata ⁴	11-11
agnayo ⁵ me ⁶	
m̄a- -eṣām̄ ⁷ rādh̄iy abhicāra ⁸ eṣā ⁹ pratyag ¹⁰ enān̄ ¹¹ pratisareṇa	11-11
hanmi 1 ¹²	
¹³ tapahśramav ¹⁴ antarau ¹⁵ mat ¹⁶ + parītam̄ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ brahmaya jñam	
antaram̄ mad dadhāmi ¹⁹	11-11
[m̄a- -eṣām̄ rādh̄iy abhicāra eṣā pratyag enān̄ pratisareṇa	
hanmi] 2	11-11

¹ = PSK 13.12

² Mā_{1c}: bṛhahad

³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitah

⁴ Ma_{2c}: parvatātā-

⁵ Ma_{2c}: -agnayo

⁶ Gu_c: unreadable

⁷ Kā: mahiṣām̄

⁸ Kā: avacāra; Mā_{1c}: avicāra

⁹ Kā: eṣāt

¹⁰ Kā: pratyak; Pa_c: pratyak,

¹¹ Kā: enām̄

¹² Kā: |

¹³ = PSK 13.12.2a

¹⁴ Kā: tapasvamav

¹⁵ Kā: antaro

¹⁶ Kā: mad

¹⁷ Kā: bhavātho; Mā_{1c}: pacitam̄; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: parītam̄

¹⁸ Kā: om. 13.1.2b

¹⁹ Mā_{1c}: dadhami

²⁰ agnīṣomāv ²¹ antarau mad ²² bhavātho ²³ divam varma · pṛthivīm ca kṛṇve ²⁴ ²⁵	11-10
[mā- -eśāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa hanmi] 3	11-11
²⁶ antarhitam me ²⁷ sāma ²⁸ prastutam ²⁹ antarhitah ³⁰ parameṣṭhi ³¹ prajāpatih ³²	10-12
[mā- -eśāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratisareṇa hanmi] 4	11-11

²⁰ Kā: om. 13.2.3a

²¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: agnīpomāv

²² Pa_c: mad\

²³ = PSK 13.12.2b

²⁴ Kā: kṛṇvahe

²⁵ Kā: z

²⁶ = PSK 1312.3

²⁷ Pa_c: spa

²⁸ Kā: māma

²⁹ Kā: prasthitam; Mā_{1c}: prastutem

³⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitah

³¹ Ma_{2c}: parameṣṭhvī (← ṣṭhī)

³² Kā: om

<p>³³antarhitā³⁴ sarparājñī³⁵ virāṇī³⁶ me³⁷ antarhitah³⁸ puruṣo³⁹ medhiyo me ⁴⁰ [mā- -eśāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratिसरेण hanmi] 5 </p>	11-11
	11-11
	11-11
	11-11

³³ = PSK 13.1.4

³⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitā

³⁵ Kā: sarparājño; Ma_{2c}: marparajñā; Pa_c, Gu_c: sarparājñā

³⁶ Gu_c: virām

³⁷ Gu_c: ne

³⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: 'ntarhitah; Pa_c: antarhitah

³⁹ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: purṣo; Ma_{2c}: p?ruṣo

⁴⁰ Ka: om.

⁴¹ = PSK 13.12.5

⁴² Kā: antarhitah

⁴³ Gu_c: ṣa

⁴⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: urvih

⁴⁵ Kā: sadhracir; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: sadhracir; Pa_c: sadhracih

⁴⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitah

⁴⁷ Kā: papatā

⁴⁸ Kā: z

⁴⁹ [+antarhitā] ma ṛṣayah ⁵⁰ pracetaso ⁵¹ antarhitas ⁵² sūriyo mātariśvā ⁵³ ⁵⁴	11-11
[mā- -eṣāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratिसरेणा hanmi] 7	11-11
⁵⁵ antarhitā me ⁵⁶ +nadyas ⁵⁷ syandamānā ⁵⁸ antarhitā oṣadhiḥ ⁵⁹ puṣpiṇīr me	11-11
[mā- -eṣāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān\ pratिसरेणा hanmi] 8	11-11

⁴⁹ = PSK 13.12.6

⁵⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: maharṣayah

⁵¹ Kā: pracītaso

⁵² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antahitah

⁵³ Kā: mātariśyā

⁵⁴ Kā: om.

⁵⁵ = PSK 13.1.7

⁵⁶ Kā: om.

⁵⁷ Kā: nadhyah; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: nadhyah; Pa_c, Gu_c: nadāh

⁵⁸ Kā: syandamānān; Pa_c, Gu_c: syandamānam

⁵⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: oṣadhiḥ

<p>⁶⁰antarhitāḥ⁶¹ paśavah⁶² +kakṣiyāḥ⁶³ me । antarhitam⁶⁴ . vayo yat⁶⁵ patatri⁶⁶ [mā- -eṣāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa । pratyag enān\ pratिसरेणा hanmi] 9 </p>	11-10
	11-11
<p>⁶⁷antarhitā ma⁶⁸ iśavo⁶⁹ brāhmaṇānām⁷⁰ । antarhitā⁷¹ +vanaspatayas⁷² samūlāḥ⁷³ [mā- -eṣāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa । pratyag enān\ pratिसरेणा hanmi] 10 </p>	12-12
	11-11

⁶⁰ = PSK 13.12.8

⁶¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitāḥ

⁶² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: paśavah

⁶³ Kā: kakṣā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kakṣpā

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: 'ntarhitam

⁶⁵ Pa_c: yat\

⁶⁶ Kā: patattri

⁶⁷ = PSK 13.12.9

⁶⁸ Kā: sa

⁶⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: iśavo

⁷⁰ Kā: vrāhmaṇānām

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}: antarhitā me

⁷² Kā: vanaspataya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vanaspatayah

⁷³ Kā: myalā

¹ antarhitā devatalpāḥ ² puro me antarhitā ³ jagatī chandasāṁ ⁴	11-11
[mā- -eśāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān̄ pratisareṇa hanmi] 1	11-11
⁵ antarhitā me samudrā dvādaśa antarhitā- -auṣasī ⁶ tārakā me	11-11
[mā- -eśāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān̄ pratisareṇa hanmi] 2	11-11

¹ = PSK 13.12.10

² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: devatalpāḥ

³ Kā: ntarhitā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: 'ntarhitā

⁴ Kā: śchandasāṁ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: chandasāṁ

⁵ = PSK 13.12.12

⁶ Kā: me ntarhitā uṣasī; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: antarhitauṣasi

⁷ antarhitā agnayo dhiṣṇ̄yā ⁸ me antarhitā ⁹ ṛtava ¹⁰ ārtavā ¹¹	11-11
me	
[mā- -eśāṁ rādhīy abhicāra eṣa pratyag enān̄ pratisareṇa	
hanmi] 3	11-11
¹² antarhitā me pradiśaś catasro ¹³ antar ¹⁴ bhūtam ¹⁵ uta ¹⁶ bhavyam ¹⁷	
dadhe ¹⁸ [']ham ¹⁹ ²⁰	11-11
mā- -eśāṁ ²¹ rādhīy abhicāra ²² eṣa ²³ pratyag ²⁴ enān̄ ²⁵ pratisareṇa ²⁶	
hanmi 4	11-11

⁷ = PSK 13.12.11

⁸ Kā: dhṛṣṇyā; Ma_{2c}: dh?s????

⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: 'ntarhitā

¹⁰ Kā: ṛtavā-; Ma_{2c}: rutava

¹¹ Kā: -ārtavā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ārttavā

¹² = PSK 13.12.13

¹³ Kā: catasra

¹⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: 'ntar

¹⁵ Kā: bhūta

¹⁶ Kā: om.

¹⁷ Kā: havyam

¹⁸ Kā: cade

¹⁹ Kā: yam

²⁰ Kā: om.

²¹ Kā: mahiśāṁ

²² Kā: avacāra

²³ Kā: eṣat

²⁴ Kā, Pa_c: pratyak

²⁵ Kā: enām; Ma_{2c}: e??n; Pa_c, Gu_c: enāna

²⁶ Ma_{2c}: pratisaraNa

²⁷hanmi te [']ham̄ kṛtam̄ havir | yo²⁸ me ghoram acīkṛtaḥ²⁹ | 8-8
⁺apāñcau³⁰ ta³¹ ubhau bāhū | api nāhyām̄i y³² āśiyam̄ ||5||³³ 8-8

³⁴api nāhyām̄i³⁵ te bāhū | api nāhyām̄i y³⁶ āśiyam̄ | 8-8
 agner devasya manyunā³⁷ | tena te vadhiṣam̄³⁸ havir | 8-8
 yo me ghoram³⁹ acīkṛtaḥ⁴⁰ ||6|| 8

²⁷ = PSK 13.13.1

²⁸ Kā: ye

²⁹ Ma_{2c}: ?????tah; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: acīkṛpah

³⁰ Kā: apāñcyo; Mā_{1c} Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: apāñcau

³¹ Kā: tau

³² Kā: śyāsy

³³ Kā: |

³⁴ = PSK 13.13.2

³⁵ Kā: niṣyāsi

³⁶ Kā: nihyāmy

³⁷ Kā: manyamānā

³⁸ Kā: varṣam

³⁹ Kā: ghomaram; Gu_c: ghorram

⁴⁰ Kā: adīkṛtaḥ; Mā_{1c}: acīkṛpah

¹uditaś² śatayojanam³ | indro vartayate⁴ ratham |⁵
 sāyakam kṣuravartamānam⁶ | aher jātāni⁷ jambhayān⁸ ||1||

8-8

9-8

⁹dṛḍhāsa¹⁰ āsann¹¹ ahayo¹² | hatā udarasarpināḥ¹³ |¹⁴
 pucham¹⁵ *udveṣṭayanta<s>¹⁶ | śuva¹⁷ piṇḍam adann¹⁸ iva¹⁹ ||2||

8-8

7-8

¹ = PSK 13.13.3

² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: uditah

³ Gu_c: śatayojanam

⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varttayate

⁵ Kā: om.

⁶ Kā: kṣuravantamānim; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: kṣuravarttamānam;
 Pa_c, Gu_c: yaravarttamānam; Bh: kṣuravartamānam

⁷ Gu_c: jatoni

⁸ Kā: jambaya

⁹ = PSK 13.13.4

¹⁰ Kā: dṛḍhā

¹¹ Kā: om.

¹² Kā: śentyāyanm

¹³ Kā: udarasarpināḥ; Pa_c: udasarpināḥ

¹⁴ Kā: om.

¹⁵ Kā: praśchas

¹⁶ Kā: idveṣṭrayantas; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: idveṣvāyanta; Ma₂: idveṣāyanta

¹⁷ Kā: svā

¹⁸ Kā: adan

¹⁹ Kā: yuva

²⁰ pāpaka ²¹ pāparūpaka ²² kiṁ me sakhayam ātudah ²³	8-8
na mām ²⁴ apaśya ²⁵ ²⁶ āgatām ²⁷ +satīnām ²⁸ viśadūṣaṇam ²⁹ 3	8-8
³⁰ ahijambhāś ³¹ carāmasi muṣkābarho ³² gavām iva ³³	8-8
+ <u>pīlūn</u> ³⁴ upasvajam ³⁵ hanmi ³⁶ upastambhe pr̄dāk <u>vam</u> 4	8-8

²⁰ = PSK 13.13.5

²¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: pāpakṛ

²² Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: pāparūpaka

²³ Kā: ātura

²⁴ Kā: māmi

²⁵ Kā: paśya-

²⁶ After āga- the text continues in PSK 11.6.11

²⁷ Kā: -āga- -tām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: āgataṁ

²⁸ Kā: śacī; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: satīnam

²⁹ Kā viśadūṣaṇam; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c, Pa_c: viśadūṣaṇam; Ma_{2c}: viśaduṣaṇam

³⁰ = PSK 11.7.1

³¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: tahijambhāś

³² Kā: muṣkāvarho; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: muṣkābaṛho; Bh: muṣkāvaruho

³³ Kā: om.

³⁴ Kā: kīlā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: pīlū; Bh: +pīlū

³⁵ Kā: upasṛjām

³⁶ Kā: harmi; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: hanma

³⁷ ye ke cedam ⁺ apāsausur ³⁸		³⁹ vātasyeva pṛthag yataḥ	8-8
aṅgo _a nu sarve brūt _a .		_a heyam arasam viṣam ⁴⁰ 5	8-8
⁴¹ triddhisi ⁴² te niṣadanam ⁴³		⁴⁴ tripuṣi pāpa te gṛhah ⁴⁵	8-8
achinnam ⁴⁶ t _u vā vāto hanty ⁴⁷		achinnam ⁴⁸ abhi ⁴⁹ varṣati ⁵⁰ 6 ⁵¹	8-8

³⁷ = PSK 11.7.2³⁸ Kā: āpāśveṣur; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: upāsausur³⁹ Kā: om. rest of the verse after °vā⁴⁰ Ma_{2c}: viṣam⁴¹ = PSK 11.7.2-3⁴² Kā: tṛṇḍam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: triddhisi; Bh: trindhisi⁴³ Kā: niṣadalam⁴⁴ Kā: nṛpaśrī; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tripuṣi; Bh: tripuṣi⁴⁵ Kā: om.⁴⁶ Kā: aśchinnam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: achannam⁴⁷ Kā: hamtv; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: hamty⁴⁸ Kā: aśchinnam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: achannam⁴⁹ Mā_{1c}: aha⁵⁰ Kā: varṣatu⁵¹ Kā: |

⁵² nakulena ⁵³ bheṣajena tenāḥīn ⁵⁴ jambhayamasi ⁵⁵	8-8
· māṁścatur ⁵⁶ nāma ⁵⁷ + vṛkṣakas ⁵⁸ sa ⁵⁹ enān ⁶⁰ arasān ⁶¹ akaḥ ⁶² 7	8-8
⁶³ asitāhe ⁶⁴ [']rasam ⁶⁵ viṣam ⁶⁶ ubhayos ⁶⁷ s <u>u</u> vajasya ⁶⁸ ca	8-8
abhikrandasya ⁶⁹ ya ⁷⁰ ropīs tā ⁷¹ ito 'panayamasi ⁷² 8 ⁷³	8-8

⁵² = PSK 11.7.3

⁵³ Kā: ākulena

⁵⁴ Kā: tenāḥīm; B_T: tenāḥīn; Mā_{1c}: tenāḥīna

⁵⁵ Pa_c: jambhayāsi

⁵⁶ Kā: saścet; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: maścatur

⁵⁷ Kā: tannām

⁵⁸ Kā: akṣakah; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vṛkṣakah

⁵⁹ Kā: śa

⁶⁰ Kā: yanāmn; B_T: yanāñn

⁶¹ Kā: arasam; B_T: arasān

⁶² Kā: aka

⁶³ = PSK 11.7.4

⁶⁴ Kā: asitāha

⁶⁵ Kā: ram; Mā_{1c}: rasam; Ma_{2c}: radam; Pa_c, Gu_c: raham

⁶⁶ Mā_{1c}: viṣamm

⁶⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ubhayoh

⁶⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śitasya

⁶⁹ Kā: adhikrasya

⁷⁰ Kā: ya

⁷¹ Kā: tāy

⁷² Kā: vinayamasi

⁷³ Kā: |

⁷⁴idam̄ paidvo _ajayat_a.⁷⁵ | -idam⁷⁶ asya vivartanam̄⁷⁷ | 8-8
idam̄ kanikrado⁷⁸ mrgo⁷⁹ | visam̄⁸⁰ eti⁸¹ parābhavam̄⁸² ||9|| 8-8

⁸³viśucinā⁸⁴ vātā +vāntu⁸⁵ | viśvag⁸⁶ varṣantu vrṣṭayah | 8-8
viśvag⁸⁷ +viśam̄⁸⁸ pra meha tvam̄⁸⁹ | śatadhāra ivāvataḥ⁹⁰ ||10|| 8-8

⁷⁴ = PSK 11.7.5

⁷⁵ Kā: ajāyate

⁷⁶ Kā: idam

⁷⁷ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: piparttanam; Ma_{2c}: piparttanām

⁷⁸ Mā_{1c}: vanikrado

⁷⁹ Kā: mago

⁸⁰ Kā: dviṣate

⁸¹ Kā: tu

⁸² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: parābhavan̄

⁸³ = PSK 11.7.6

⁸⁴ Kā: viśucinām; Pa_c, Gu_c: viśvacīna

⁸⁵ Kā: vaham̄tu; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vanta

⁸⁶ Kā: viśvak; Pā_c: viśvak; Gu_c: viśvag

⁸⁷ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: viśvag

⁸⁸ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: viṣa; Pa_c: viśva

⁸⁹ Pa_c: va

⁹⁰ Pa_c, Gu_c: ivāvartaḥ

¹nir ito² haritasrajam³ | indro⁴ vartayate⁵ ratham | 8-8
 tenāpi lihna⁶ iyate⁷ | +nipimṣann⁸ ahinām_anah⁹ ||1||¹⁰ 8-8

¹¹yenendra dasyūn¹² niramṛṇo¹³ | yena¹⁴ vṛtram¹⁵ 9-8
 parābhīnah¹⁶ | tenā śatakrato t_uvam | aher jātāni jambhaya¹⁷ ||2||¹⁸ 8-8

¹ = PSK 11.7.7

² Kā: atam; Gu_c: ḥto

³ Kā: haritassrja

⁴ Kā: mittro

⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varttayate

⁶ Kā: lalh

⁷ Kā: -iyate; Mā_{1c}, Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: iyate

⁸ Kā: napīyūṣamn; Mā_{1c}: nipisamn; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: nipimṣamn

⁹ Kā: ahināpinah; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ahināmanah

¹⁰ Kā: |

¹¹ = PSK 11.7.8

¹² Kā: jasya

¹³ Kā: yenanṛṇo; Pa_c, Gu_c: niramṛnor

¹⁴ Ma_{2c}: ye??

¹⁵ Kā: vṛtram

¹⁶ Kā: om.

¹⁷ Ma_{2c} : ??mbhaya

¹⁸ Kā: zz

¹⁹ pratyamodata ²⁰ pṛthivī	prati dyauḥ ²¹ prati sūrīyah ²²	8-8
paid <u>u</u> vo yad aśvamātā ²³	krandenāḥin apāvapat 3 ²⁴	8-8
²⁵ yadā paidvo ²⁶ aśvamātā ²⁷	krandenāḥin apāvapat,	8-8
+raju<ṣ> ²⁸ śma ²⁹ datvatī ³⁰ śere ³¹	pūyantīm ³² pṛthivīm anu 4	8-8

¹⁹ = PSK 11.7.9

²⁰ Kā: pratyamodataḥ

²¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: dyauḥ

²² Kā: om.

²³ Mā_{1c}: asvamātā

²⁴ Kā: om.

²⁵ = PSK 11.7.9; Kā: om. ab

²⁶ Mā_{1c}: paidve

²⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: 'śvamātā

²⁸ Kā: rājjuś; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rājjū

²⁹ Kā: ca

³⁰ Kā: darśatī; Pa_c: dahatī

³¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: śyere

³² Kā: payantih

³³nāpo³⁴ jiryanti³⁵ nāmr̥tam³⁶ | nendrāṇī³⁷ vidhavā³⁸ bhavat₁ |³⁹ 8-8
na tvām aste [']bhīṣad⁴⁰ viṣam⁴¹ | aśmānam⁴² iva sāyakam ||5|| 8-8

⁴³indrāgnī mitrāvaraṇā⁴⁴ | tvaṣṭāram aditīm bhagam | 8-8
huve⁴⁵ [']ham⁴⁶ arvantaṁ⁴⁷ paidvam | mā⁴⁸ me⁴⁹ [']yam⁵⁰
puruṣo⁵¹ riṣat₁ ||6||⁵³ 8-8

³³ = PSK 11.7.10

³⁴ Kā: āpo

³⁵ Kā: jīryante

³⁶ Kā: nāmr̥ta

³⁷ Ma_{āc}: maindrāṇī

³⁸ Ka, Ma_{āc}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: avidhavā

³⁹ Kā: om.

⁴⁰ Kā: viśvag; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: bhiṣad

⁴¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: om.

⁴² Kā: akhānam; Mā_{1c}: asmānam

⁴³ = PSK 11.7.11

⁴⁴ Kā: mitrāvaraṇās; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: mitravaṛṇā

⁴⁵ Kā: hva

⁴⁶ Kā: yam

⁴⁷ Kā: arvam̥tam

⁴⁸ Mā_{1c}: mya; Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: myā

⁴⁹ Kā: mā

⁵⁰ Kā: nayam

⁵¹ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: puṛṣo

⁵² Kā: viṣat₁; Mā_{1c} Pa_c, Gu_c: ṣat₁

⁵³ Kā: om.

⁵⁴ sadyo jāto 'kanikradat ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ sol _u vo ⁵⁷ v _i yadhūnuta ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ krandenāśvasya ⁶⁰ vājino ^a hanyantāhayaḥ ⁶¹ pṛthak _i 7 ⁶²	8-8 8-8
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⁵⁴ = PSK 11.7.12

⁵⁵ Kā: kanikradat_i

⁵⁶ Kā: |

⁵⁷ Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: solvor

⁵⁸ Kā: dyandhūnataḥ; Gu_c: vyadhunuta

⁵⁹ Kā: om.

⁶⁰ Pa_c, Gu_c: krandenāśvasyam

⁶¹ Kā: hanyantvāhaya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_c, Pa_c, Gu_c: hayantāhayaḥ

⁶² Kā: z zz ity atharvaṇikapaippalādayaś śākhāyaṁ ekādaśo dhyāyas samāptāḥ
zz

¹ imam ² stomam arhate jātavedase ³ ratham iva saṁ ⁴ mahema ⁵ manīṣaya ⁶ ⁷	12-12
bhadra ⁸ hi nah ⁹ pramatir asya saṁsad _i y ¹⁰ [] agne sakhye ¹¹ mā riśamā vayam ¹² tava 1 ¹³	12-12
¹⁴ yasmai t _u vam ⁺ āyajase ¹⁵ sa ¹⁶ sādhat _i y ¹⁷ anarvā ¹⁸ kṣeti ¹⁹ dadhate ²⁰ suviṁyam ²¹	12-12
sa ²² tūtāva ²³ nainam aśnot _i y am̄hatir agne ²⁴ [sakhye mā riśamā vayam tava] 2	12-12

¹ = PSK 12.1.1

² Kā: atha dvādaśomārkāṇḍa atharvanādhyāyam likhyate zz om̄ namo nārāya
nāya z z om̄ imam̄

³ Kā: jatabhavedase

⁴ Kā: san

⁵ Kā: dahemā

⁶ Kā: sanikayāḥ (kale)

⁷ Kā: folio break

⁸ Pa_c, Gu_c: bhadrābhadrā

⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: Gu_c: nah

¹⁰ Kā: saṁsam

¹¹ Kā: saṁkhye; Pa_c: om.

¹² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vayan

¹³ Kā: |

¹⁴ = PSK 12.1.2

¹⁵ Kā: ahurbhajase; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: Gu_c: āyajasase

¹⁶ Kā: om.

¹⁷ Kā: ādity

¹⁸ Kā: anarvan

¹⁹ Kā: kṣota

²⁰ Kā: tadate; Pa_c: didhate

²¹ Kā: stuviṁyam

²² Pa_c: su

²³ Kā, Pa_c: bhūtāva; Gu_c: bhūtāda

²⁴ Kā: agne z z; Mā_{1c}: 'gne

²⁵ bharāmedhamāṁ krṇavāmā ²⁶ havīṁṣi te citayantah ²⁷	12-12
parvañā-parvañā vayam ²⁸	
jīvātave ²⁹ prataram sādhaya ³⁰ dhiyo ³¹ agne ³² [sakhye mā	
riśamā vayam tava] 3	12-12
³³ śakema ³⁴ tvā ³⁵ samidham ³⁶ sādhaya ³⁷ dhiyas tūve ³⁸ devā havir	12-12
adantiy ³⁹ āhutam ⁴⁰ ⁴¹	
tvam ādityān ⁴² ā vaha tān ⁴³ hiy ⁴⁴ uśmasiy ⁴⁵ agne ⁴⁶ [sakhye mā	
riśamā vayam tava] 4	12-12

²⁵ = PSK 12.1.3

²⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c; krṇuvāmā

²⁷ Kā: jite antah; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: citayantah

²⁸ Kā: om.

²⁹ Kā: jīvātava

³⁰ Kā: mādhaya

³¹ Kā: dayo

³² Kā: gne z

³³ = PSK 12.1.4

³⁴ Kā: sasema

³⁵ Kā: tvāṁ

³⁶ Kā: samidam

³⁷ Kā: sādaye

³⁸ Kā: te; Gu_c: sve

³⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: idamty

⁴⁰ Mā_{1c}: āhutim; Ma_{2c}: āhutam; Pā_c: ahṛtam

⁴¹ Kā: om.

⁴² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ādityam

⁴³ Kā: tā

⁴⁴ Kā: dhy

⁴⁵ Kā: ākṣmasy; Mā_{1c}: ūsmasy; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: uṣmasy

⁴⁶ Kā: āgne z

<p>⁴⁷tvam adhvaryur⁴⁸ uta⁴⁹ hotāsi pūrvyah⁵⁰ praśastā⁵¹ pota⁵² januṣā purohitah⁵³ viśvā vidvān⁵⁴ ārtvijyā⁵⁵ dhīra puṣyasīy⁵⁶ agne⁵⁷ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava] 5 </p>	12-12
	12-12
	12-12
	12-12

⁴⁷ = PSK 12.1.5

⁴⁸ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: adhvaryu

⁴⁹ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛta

⁵⁰ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c; Gu_c: pūrvyah

⁵¹ Ma_{2c}: prasāstā

⁵² Kā: potār

⁵³ Kā: purohitah

⁵⁴ Kā: vidvām

⁵⁵ Kā: āhartvijyā; Gu_c: atvirjyā

⁵⁶ Pa_c, Gu_c: svasya

⁵⁷ Kā: āgne z

⁵⁸ = PSK 12.1.6

⁵⁹ Kā: gopā-

⁶⁰ Kā: -asya

⁶¹ Kā: jarantu

⁶² Kā: dvipāś; Gu₂: dhipāc

⁶³ Kā: om.

⁶⁴ Kā: citrah; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: citra

⁶⁵ Kā: mahañ; Ma_{2c}: ma? añ; Gu_c: matyāñ

⁶⁶ Kā: asya-

⁶⁷ Kā: -āgne |

<p>⁶⁸yo viśvatas⁶⁹ supratikas⁷⁰ sadṛṇī⁷¹ asi¹ dūre cit⁷² sam⁷³ taļid⁷⁴ ivāti⁷⁵ rocase⁷⁶ rātryāś cid⁷⁷ andho⁷⁸ ati deva paśyasīy⁷⁹ [] agne⁸⁰ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava] 7 </p> <p>⁸¹pūrvo⁸² devā bhavatu sunvato⁸³ ratho¹ smākam̄ śamso abhiy⁸⁴ astu dūdhīyah⁸⁵ tad ā jānīta- -u ta⁸⁶ puṣyatā⁸⁷ vaco⁸⁸ [] agne⁸⁹ [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava] 8 </p>	12-12 12-12 12-12
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⁶⁸ = PSK 12.1.7

⁶⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c; Gu_c: viśvataḥ

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c; Gu_c: supratikah

⁷¹ Kā: sadruh; Pa_c, Gu_c: sadṛṇī

⁷² Kā: diś

⁷³ Kā: chan

⁷⁴ Kā: talid; Mā_{1c}: taļad; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tad

⁷⁵ Kā: ivāśi

⁷⁶ Kā: rocate

⁷⁷ Kā: cat

⁷⁸ Kā: anvo

⁷⁹ Kā: paśyasya-; Pa_c, Gu_c: pasmasya

⁸⁰ Kā: -agne |

⁸¹ = PSK 12.1.8; Pa_c: om.

⁸² Kā: pūrve

⁸³ Kā: muṣvato

⁸⁴ Kā: any; Pa_c: om. 13.5.8ab

⁸⁵ Kā: om.

⁸⁶ Kā: jānīto u; Mā_{1c}: jānīto

⁸⁷ Gu_c: puṣpatā

⁸⁸ Kā: vato; Gu_c: va

⁸⁹ Kā: gne z

⁹⁰ vadhair ^{⁹¹} duḥśaṃsāñ ^{⁹²} apa ^{⁹³} dūḍhīyo ^{⁹⁴} jahi । dūre vā ye anti ^{⁹᳚} vā ke cid atrināḥ ^{⁹⁶} । athā ^{⁹⁸} yajñāya gr̥nate ^{⁹⁹} sugam kṛdhīy ^{¹⁰⁰} [॥] agne ^{¹⁰¹} [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava] ॥⁹॥	12-12
¹⁰² yad ayukthā ^{¹⁰³} aruṣā ^{¹⁰⁴} rohitā ^{¹⁰⁵} rathe ^{¹⁰⁶} । vātajūṭā vṛṣabhasyeva ^{¹⁰⁷} te ravaḥ । ^{¹⁰⁸} ād ^{¹⁰⁹} invasi ^{¹¹⁰} vanino dhūmaketunā- । -agne ^{¹¹¹} [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava] ॥¹⁰॥	12-12
¹⁰² yad ayukthā ^{¹⁰³} aruṣā ^{¹⁰⁴} rohitā ^{¹⁰⁵} rathe ^{¹⁰⁶} । vātajūṭā vṛṣabhasyeva ^{¹⁰⁷} te ravaḥ । ^{¹⁰⁸} ād ^{¹⁰⁹} invasi ^{¹¹⁰} vanino dhūmaketunā- । -agne ^{¹¹¹} [sakhye mā riṣāmā vayam tava] ॥¹⁰॥	12-12

^{⁹⁰} = PSK 12.1.9; Pa_c: om.

^{⁹¹} Kā: vadhūn

^{⁹²} Kā: duśamsāñ; Mā_{₁c}, Ma_{₂c}, Gu_c: duḥśaṃsāñ

^{⁹³} Kā: avi

^{⁹⁴} Gu_c: dū?yo

^{⁹⁵} Kā: am̥ti

^{⁹⁶} Kā: atrināḥ

^{⁹⁷} Kā: z

^{⁹⁸} Kā: adhā

^{⁹⁹} Kā: śr̥ṇute

^{¹⁰⁰} Kā: kṛṣy

^{¹⁰¹} Kā does not mark end of the stanza.

^{¹⁰²} = PSK 12.1.10

^{¹⁰³} Kā: ukthan

^{¹⁰⁴} Kā pā; Mā_{₁c}, Gu_c: arṣā

^{¹⁰⁵} Kā: rohito

^{¹⁰⁶} Pa_c: ratho

^{¹⁰⁷} Kā: ṛṣabhasyeva

^{¹⁰⁸} Kā: z

^{¹⁰⁹} Kā: yuj

^{¹¹⁰} Kā: invasti

^{¹¹¹} Kā: does not mark the end of the stanza

¹ adha svanād ² uta ⁺ bibhyuḥ ³ patatriṇo ⁴ drapsā ⁵ ya ⁶ te yavaśādo viyasthiran ₇ ⁸	12-12
sugam ⁹ tat te tāvakebhyo ¹⁰ rathebh _i yo _a gne ¹¹ [sakhye mā riśāmā vayam tava] 1	12-12
¹² t _u vam̄ mitrasya ¹³ varuṇasya ¹⁴ *dhāyase ¹⁵ _a vayatām ¹⁶ marutām ¹⁷ heļo ¹⁸ adbhetah ₁₉	12-12
mṛlā su no bhūt _u v eṣām manah ²⁰ punar agne ²¹ [sakhye mā riśāmā vayam tava] 2	12-12

¹ = PSK

² Kā: svanād

³ Kā: svidhyuḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: bibhyuḥ

⁴ Kā: patattriṇo

⁵ Kā: dhrapsā

⁶ Kā: ya

⁷ Mā_{1c}: vyasthiraran₁

⁸ Kā: om.

⁹ Kā: suga

¹⁰ Kā: tāvakedyo

¹¹ Kā: gne z

¹² = PSK 12.1.12

¹³ Kā: mitrasya

¹⁴ Kā: varuṇa; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: varṇasya; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: varunāsyā

¹⁵ Kā: dhāyasya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dhāsyā

¹⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: vajatām; Kā, Pa_c, Gu_c: vayatām

¹⁷ Mā_{1c}: maṛtām; Pa_c, Gu_c: maṛtām

¹⁸ Kā: heļo

¹⁹ Kā: om.

²⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: manah; Pa_c: mana

²¹ Kā: agne z

²²devo²³ devānām asi mitro²⁴ adbhuṭo²⁵ | vasur vasūnām asi
cārur²⁶ adhvare²⁷ |
śarman^t²⁸ siyāma tava²⁹ saprathastame³⁰ | ^agne³¹ [sakhye mā
riṣamā vayam tava] ||3||

12-12

³²tat te bhadram yat samiddhas³³ s_uve³⁴ dame³⁵ | somahuto
jarase³⁶ mṛdayattamah³⁷ |³⁸
dadhaśi³⁹ ratnam⁴⁰ dravīṇañ⁴¹ ca dāśuṣe⁴² || ^agne⁴³ sakhye mā
riṣamā vayam tava||4||

12-12

12-12

²² = PSK 12.1.13

²³ Kā: deve

²⁴ Kā: mittro

²⁵ Kā: adbhuṭo

²⁶ Kā: cā?? (broken off); Mā_{1c}: cārr; Gu_c: carc

²⁷ Kā: ?dhvare

²⁸ Kā: śarman

²⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tama

³⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: saḥprathastame

³¹ Kā: gne z

³² = PSK 12.1.14

³³ Kā: samiddha?; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: samiddhaḥ

³⁴ Kā: ??e

³⁵ Kā: ????

³⁶ Kā: rajase

³⁷ Kā: mṛdayattasah

³⁸ Kā: om.

³⁹ Kā: dadāsi

⁴⁰ Kā: ratma

⁴¹ Kā: dravīṇam

⁴² Gu_c: vāsuṣe

⁴³ Kā: agnes

⁴⁴ yasmai ⁴⁵ t <u>u</u> vam̄ sudraviṇo ⁴⁶ dadāsi ⁴⁷ so [']nāgāstvam ⁴⁸ adite sarvatāta ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰	11-11
yaṁ bhadreṇa śavasā ⁵¹ codayāsi prajāvanto ⁵² rādhasā ⁵³ te sīyāma 5	11-11
sa tvam ⁵⁴ agne saubhagatvasya ⁵⁵ vidvān ⁵⁶ asmākam āyuḥ ⁵⁷ pra tireha deva	11-11
+tvám ⁵⁸ no mitrō ⁵⁹ várūṇo ⁶⁰ māmāhantām ⁶¹ +áditis ⁶² síndhuḥ ⁶³ pr̥thiví ⁶⁴ utá ⁶⁵ dyauḥ ⁶⁶ 6	11-11

⁴⁴ = PSK 12.1.15

⁴⁵ Kā: asmai

⁴⁶ Kā: sodraviṇe

⁴⁷ Kā: dadhā

⁴⁸ Kā: nāgāssim; Ma_{2c}: nāgastyam; Pa_c, Gu_c: nāgāsvam

⁴⁹ Kā: sarvatāta

⁵⁰ Kā: om.

⁵¹ Kā: śavamā

⁵² Kā: prajāntau

⁵³ Kā: rādhasyā

⁵⁴ Kā: tv

⁵⁵ Pa_c: saubhagatvasya

⁵⁶ Kā: vidvām; B_T: vidvān; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: vidvān

⁵⁷ Mā_{1c}: āyu; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: āyuḥ; Pa_c: ayuḥ

⁵⁸ Kā: tán; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tvan

⁵⁹ Kā: mittró

⁶⁰ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varṇo; Ma_{2c}: varuṇo

⁶¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: māmāhantām

⁶² Kā: aditis; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aditih

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sindhuḥ

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: pr̥thivī

⁶⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: uta

⁶⁶ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dyauḥ

¹ kim ² indrasya parihitam̄ kim agneḥ ³ kim viṣṇos tvaṣṭur varuṇasya ⁴ vāsaḥ	11-11
bṛhaspater ⁵ uta ⁶ somasya +rājñah ⁷ kim vasānā maruto ⁸ varṣayantu ⁹ 1	11-11
¹⁰ dhātu ¹¹ rudrasya ¹² kim vāyor ¹³ vājinām̄ ¹⁴ vasanam̄ ¹⁵ mahat̄	8-8
kim pūṣā brahmaṇaspatir ¹⁶ viśve devāś ca bibhrati 2	8-8

¹ = PSK 13.14.1

² Gu_c: kam

³ Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: agneḥ; Gu_c: agne

⁴ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: varṇasya

⁵ Kā: vṝhaspater; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: bṝhaspate

⁶ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: ṛta

⁷ Kā, Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rājñah

⁸ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: maṛto

⁹ Kā: varṣantu

¹⁰ = PSK 13.14.2

¹¹ Kā: dhāto

¹² Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: ṛdrasya

¹³ Kā: vāyoḥ

¹⁴ Kā: vājinā

¹⁵ Kā: vrajinam̄

¹⁶ Kā: vrahmaṇaspatir; Pa_c: brahmaṇaspatih

¹⁷ kim devānāṁ ¹⁸ paridhānāṁ samānām ¹⁹ yasminn ²⁰ eṣāṁ sāmmanasyām ²¹ babhūva ²²	11-11
kva rātri ²³ niviśate +kvāhāḥ ²⁴ kvedam ²⁵ abhram ²⁶ bhavati yat ²⁷ sameti ²⁸ vyeti ²⁹ ca 3 ³⁰	11-12
³¹ katamenāpo divam ³² udvahanti +kas ³³ samen _{a- -u} dayanena ³⁴ netā ³⁵ ³⁶	11-11
vātasya ³⁷ tvā vidyutām ³⁸ +stanayitnor ³⁹ apām pṛchām _i y ⁴⁰ ayanān _i y ⁴¹ agneh ⁴² 4	11-11

¹⁷ = PSK 13.14.3

¹⁸ Kā: devadevānām

¹⁹ Pa_c, Gu_c: om.

²⁰ Kā: yassinn

²¹ Kā: samnāḥsam

²² Kā: om.

²³ Kā: rātī

²⁴ Kā: kvāha; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kvāhāḥ

²⁵ Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kvetim

²⁶ Ma_{2c}: abhra

²⁷ Pa_c: yat̄

²⁸ Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: samedi

²⁹ Kā: veti

³⁰ Kā: | z

³¹ = PSK 13.14.4

³² Ma_{2c}: divasum

³³ Kā: kasya; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kah

³⁴ Kā: tadannenetinena

³⁵ Kā: netām

³⁶ Kā: om.

³⁷ Ma_{2c}: vātasya; Pa_c, Gu_c: vatasya

³⁸ Kā: vidyatā; Mā_{1c}: vidyutām

³⁹ Kā: stanayannur; Mā_c: stana itnur; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: stanayitnur; Gu_c: stanayinur

⁴⁰ Kā: pṛśchamy

⁴¹ Kā: evāny; Ma_{2c}: ayanā??; Pa_c: ayayanān

⁴² Kā, Mā_{1c}: agne; Ma_{2c}: ????

⁴³ pṛchāmi ⁴⁴ tvā pṛśatīm ⁴⁵ rohiṇīm ⁴⁶ ca । vatsam pṛchāmi ⁴⁷ saha mātaram ⁴⁸ tvām ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰	11-11
indram ⁵¹ tvānu ⁵² pṛchāmi ⁵³ sākṣat ⁵⁴ । sabhānām ca sabhāpatīm 5	9-8
⁵⁵ ko vayasām adadhān ⁵⁶ nāmāni ⁵⁷ kah ⁵⁸ paśūnām ॥ +kas ⁵⁹ sarpānām devajanā ya āsan _\ ⁶¹	14-11
ko [']sya ⁶² jantor adadhād ⁶³ brūhi ⁶⁴ nas tat _\ ⁶⁵ 6	11

⁴³ = PSK 13.14.5

⁴⁴ Kā: pṛśchāmi; Ma_{2c}: ??chāmi

⁴⁵ Kā: pṛśatiyam

⁴⁶ Kā: rohiṇīm

⁴⁷ Kā: pṛśchāmi

⁴⁸ Kā: mātaran

⁴⁹ Kā: tā; Pa_c: tvā

⁵⁰ Kā: om.

⁵¹ Gu_c: indra

⁵² Kā: tvāni

⁵³ Kā: pṛśchāmi

⁵⁴ Gu_c: sāyat

⁵⁵ = PSK 13.14.6

⁵⁶ Kā: adadhām

⁵⁷ Mā_{1c}: nāmāni ।

⁵⁸ Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kah

⁵⁹ Kā, Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kah

⁶⁰ Kā: sam

⁶¹ Kā: om.

⁶² Kā: syo

⁶³ Kā: ayadā; Pa_{1c}: adadhād

⁶⁴ Kā: vrūhi

⁶⁵ Kā: that_\

⁶⁶ kati rohā<ś> ⁶⁷ s _u var ārohayanti ⁶⁸ yebhi ⁶⁹ rohito divam ⁷⁰	11-11
āruroha ⁷¹ ⁷²	
⁺ rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ ⁷³ kṣatrabhṛto ⁷⁴ vasubhṛto ⁷⁵ vasudānavaḥ ⁷⁶	8-13
vasuyavah ⁷⁷ 7	
⁷⁸ kaś caturdhā ⁷⁹ vikramate ⁸⁰ mahitvā kam ⁸¹ rakṣanti ⁸² kavayo ⁸³	11-11
^a pramādaṁ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵	
puruṣam ⁸⁶ t _u vānu ⁸⁷ pṛchāmi ⁸⁸ sākṣān ⁸⁹ mṛtyor aṅgāni kati tāni	
vettha ⁹⁰ 8	11-11

⁶⁶ =PSK 13.14.7

⁶⁷ Kā: rohā; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rohāḥ

⁶⁸ Kā: ārohanyanty

⁶⁹ Kā: etī; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yebhi

⁷⁰ Kā: devam

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: āṛroha

⁷² Kā: om.

⁷³ Kā, Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: rāṣṭrabhṛtaḥ; Gu_c: rāṣṭrabhutaḥ

⁷⁴ Pa_c: kṣetrabhṛto

⁷⁵ Pa_c: vasubhṛto

⁷⁶ Mā_{1c}: vasubhṛtau

⁷⁷ Kā: vasudinavovasuyavah

⁷⁸ = PSK 13.14.8

⁷⁹ Kā: cattavā; Mā_{1c}: carddhaturdhā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: caturddhā

⁸⁰ Pa_c: thikramate

⁸¹ Kā: ko

⁸² Kā: rakṣantu; Mā_{1c}: rakṣati

⁸³ Kā: kavo

⁸⁴ Kā: prasādam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: 'pramākam

⁸⁵ Kā: om.

⁸⁶ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puṛṣam

⁸⁷ Kā: tvāni

⁸⁸ Kā: pṛśchami

⁸⁹ Kā: sākṣān

⁹⁰ Kā: vetthāḥ

<p>⁹¹yam⁹² śiśati⁹³ vṛṣabhaś⁹⁴ carṣaṇinām⁹⁵ indro vajram ahinā spardhamānah⁹⁶ ⁹⁷</p> <p>yena vṛtram⁹⁸ maghavā sampipesa⁹⁹ tam +nah¹⁰⁰ pra brūhi¹⁰¹ yadi¹⁰² tam¹⁰³ pravettha¹⁰⁴ 9 ¹⁰⁵</p>	11-11
	11-11
	11-13
	11-11

⁹¹ = PSK 13.14.9

⁹² Kā: aham

⁹³ Kā: si; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: śiśeva; Pa_c, Gu_c: śitova

⁹⁴ Kā: carukaś; Mā_{1c}: vṛṣaṇabhaś

⁹⁵ Pa_c: carṣaṇinā

⁹⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: spardhamānah

⁹⁷ Kā: om.

⁹⁸ Kā: vṛtram

⁹⁹ Kā: om.; Pā_c: sampitośa

¹⁰⁰ Kā: na; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: nah

¹⁰¹ Kā: vrūhy

¹⁰² Kā: adi

¹⁰³ Kā: dam

¹⁰⁴ Kā: praveṣa

¹⁰⁵ Kā: om.

¹⁰⁶ = PSK 13.14.10

¹⁰⁷ Pa_c: rka; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: kah; Pa_c, Gu_c: ka

¹⁰⁸ Pa_c: vitānām; Gu_c: vitānām

¹⁰⁹ Kā: aridhā; Ma₂: adadhan

¹¹⁰ Kā: vanaspa?inām; Pa_c: vanasyatīnām; Gu_c: vansyatīnam

¹¹¹ Kā: adadhā

¹¹² Kā: coṣadhīnām.; Gu_c: oṣadhi; G_c does not mark the end of the first verse with danḍā.

¹¹³ Kā: z

¹¹⁴ Kā: pṛśchami

¹¹⁵ Kā: śam

¹¹⁶ Kā: pṛśchama[?]

¹¹⁷ Kā: ni; Mā_c, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: nu

¹¹⁸ Pa_c: ??ksat̄

¹ devatalpa ² + devakośah ³ k _u veha tān ⁴ + nah ⁵ prabruhi ⁶ yadi ⁷ tān ⁸ pravettha ⁹	11-11
prchāmi ¹⁰ tvā + garagirah ¹¹ kiyanto ¹² yebhyo ¹³ 'gnir ¹⁴ havyaṁ vahati ¹⁵ prajānan _\ ¹⁶	11-11
hutam̄ ¹⁷ martyair ¹⁸ amṛto ¹⁹ mar _i tyebhyah ²⁰ 1	11

¹ = PSK 13.14.11

² Mā_{1c}: devatalpa

³ Kā: devakośa; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: devakośah

⁴ Pa_c: tā

⁵ Kā: na; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: nah; Pa_c: nah

⁶ Kā: pravrūhy; Pa_c, Gu_c: prabruhi

⁷ Kā: adi; Pa_c, Gu_c: om.

⁸ Kā: ???; Pa_c, Gu_c: tan_{\|}

⁹ Mā_{1c}: pravettha | Immediately after this double dāṇḍa, the scribe of Mā₁ has scratched out the mantra (PS 13.7.10a).

¹⁰ Kā: prschāmi

¹¹ Kā: gargara; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: garagirah; Pa_c: giragirah

¹² Kā: kiṁto; The scribe of Pa_c has scratchd out portion of the incorrectly copied text; Gu_c: kiyamta. The scribe of Gu_c has copied and scratchd out the incorrectly copied text. The entire verse has been scratched out and re-written.

¹³ Pa_c, Gu_c: yebhya

¹⁴ Kā: agnir

¹⁵ Kā: vahatu

¹⁶ Kā: z

¹⁷ Kā: ??atam. Only part of the upper portion of the akṣara remains. Barret has reconstructed *hatam; Gu_c: hatam

¹⁸ Kā: martyir

¹⁹ Mā_{1c}: amṛtor; Ma_{2c}: am?to, manuscript broken off at the bottom of the leaf.

²⁰ Mā_{1c}: matyebyah; Ma_{2c}: mar?yebhyah

²¹svapne ya²² ekas²³ tamasā²⁴ sahāiti²⁵ | aṅgāni²⁶ gṛhṇan²⁷
 puruṣasya²⁸ cakṣuh²⁹ |
 sa prātar · eti³⁰ tamasā³¹ punas³² | sa hā jyotir³³ eti³⁴ kuva
 svid³⁵ eti ||2||³⁶

11-11

10-11

²¹ = PSK 13.14.12

²² Kā: om.

²³ Kā: nekas

²⁴ Kā: tapasā

²⁵ Kā: sahīty

²⁶ Mā_{1c}: aṅgāna

²⁷ Kā: gṛhṇān

²⁸ Kā: pu??ṣasya; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puṛṣasya

²⁹ Kā: om.

³⁰ Kā: ati

³¹ Kā: tapasā

³² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: punah

³³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yotir

³⁴ Kā: iti

³⁵ Kā: srj; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: sadad ; Gu_c: savad

³⁶ Kā: |

³⁷ vratapatim ³⁸ adhipatim ³⁹ madhukṛta ⁴⁰ madhupatim ⁴¹ ⁴² devāṁs ⁴³ tvā ⁴⁴ sarvān ⁴⁵ pṛchāmy ⁴⁶ ahutādaś ⁴⁷ ca ⁴⁸ te ⁴⁹ kati ⁵⁰ 3 ⁵¹	8-8 8-8
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³⁷ = PSK 13.14.13

³⁸ Kā: ???tapatim

³⁹ Kā: adhupatim

⁴⁰ Kā: madhupṛṣṭā

⁴¹ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: madhipatim

⁴² Kā: om.

⁴³ Kā, Ma_{1c}: devās

⁴⁴ Kā: tvam

⁴⁵ Kā: sarvam; Ma_{2c} sa??? The manuscript is torn along the first line of text on the palm-leaf. The damage continues until the folio-line ends.

⁴⁶ Kā: pṛśchāmy ; Ma_{2c}: ??cha??

⁴⁷ Kā: ahūtada?; Ma_{2c}: ?????daś

⁴⁸ Kā: ?a; Pa_c: om.

⁴⁹ Kā: tā

⁵⁰ Ma_{2c}: damaged, not legible

⁵¹ Kā: |

⁵²ko antariks̄at⁵³ pari⁵⁴ paśyatidam⁵⁵ | yasmād agra indriyam⁵⁶
 sam babhūva |
 mahat⁵⁷ sa⁵⁸ kasmād abhayam bibhaya⁵⁹ | kasya⁶⁰ yuktasyāsyā⁶¹
 srakvāl⁶² []
 lohitam⁶³ parāpatat⁶⁴ tat⁶⁵ kuveha ||4||⁶⁶

11-11

11-8

11

⁵² = PSK 13.14.14. Ma_{2c} is broken off here thus omitting 13.8.4a

⁵³ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: 'ntariks̄at; Pa_c: 'ntariks̄at,

⁵⁴ Kā: prati

⁵⁵ Kā: paścataide

⁵⁶ Gu_c: indrayam

⁵⁷ Pa_c: mahat,

⁵⁸ Kā: sada; Gu_c: sat

⁵⁹ Kā: vibhahi

⁶⁰ Kā: kasye; Pa_c: kasyā

⁶¹ Kā: kutasyāndyā; Mā_{1c}: yuktasyā; Ma_{2c}: yutktasyāsyā; Pa_c: sya

⁶² Kā, Pa_c, Gu_c: śrakvā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: śrakvāl

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: lohitam |

⁶⁴ Kā: parāpatata

⁶⁵ Kā: om.

⁶⁶ Kā: |

⁶⁷ ittham ⁶⁸ eke pravrajantि. [] ⁶⁹ ittham ⁷⁰ eke daksiṇā ⁷¹ pratyañca ⁷¹ [] udañcaḥ ⁷² prāñco 'bhi ⁷³ vrajantि; y ⁷⁴ eke ⁷⁵ tesāṁ sarvesām ⁷⁶ iha ⁷⁷ saṅgatis ⁷⁷ sākam̄ sa ⁷⁸ eko bhūtaś ⁷⁹ carati prajānaṇ ₁ 5 ⁸⁰	8-11 11-12 11
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⁶⁷ = PSK 13.14.15

⁶⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: iththam̄

⁶⁹ Mā_{1c}: -iththam̄ |

⁷⁰ Kā: daksiṇāḥ

⁷¹ Kā: pratyañca-

⁷² Kā: -udañca; Mā_{1c}: udañcaḥ |

⁷³ Kā: bhi

⁷⁴ Kā: vṛñjaty; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: vrajamty; Pa_c: vajramty

⁷⁵ Gu_c: e

⁷⁶ Pa_c: sarvesām̄

⁷⁷ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: saṅgatih; Gu_c: sagamtiḥ

⁷⁸ Pa_c, Gu_c: saty

⁷⁹ Kā: bhūtiś

⁸⁰ Kā: |

¹ marīcir ² āśit sā manasas ³ samabhavat̄ 1 ⁴ sā prāvīyata ⁵ sā garbhām adhatta ⁶ 2 ⁷ sa garbho ⁸ [']vardhata ⁹ sa vṛddho 'bravīj ¹⁰ jaya iti ¹¹ 3 ¹² tasyai prajāpatir ajuhot ¹³ +svādhīṣṭhāna ¹⁴ ceti ¹⁵⁺ svādhicaraṇa ¹⁶ ceti 4 ¹⁷	P P P P
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¹ = PSK 13.14, prose section

²Kā: marīcar

³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: manasah̄

⁴ Kā: z

⁵ Kā: prārvīta

⁶ Kā: ādhattā

⁷ Kā: z

⁸ Ma_{2c}: parbho

⁹ Kā: vardhatu; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varddhata

¹⁰ Kā: vravīj

¹¹ Kā: yati

¹² Kā: z

¹³ Kā: juho

¹⁴ Kā: svadhiṣṭhāna; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: svadhiṣṭhāṇā

¹⁵ Kā: deti

¹⁶ Kā: svadhicaraṇac; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: svadhicaraṇa

¹⁷ Kā: z

⁺prajāpatis¹⁸ saśrje¹⁹ kapale vijihitham²⁰ mā mā²¹ ⁺sam̄tāptam²²
mahāntam²³ lokam abhipaśyamāne²⁴ |5|

P

so 'jāyata²⁵ tasya²⁶ jātasya²⁷ dyāvapṛthivī pārśve²⁸ āstām samudrau²⁹
kuksī³⁰ suryācadramasāv aksī³¹ virāṭ³² śirah³³ |6|³⁴

P

tasmāj jātāt³⁵ sarve pāpmāno vijante³⁶ sarve³⁷ asmāt³⁸ pāpmāno³⁹
vijante⁴⁰ ya evam veda |7|⁴¹

P

¹⁸ Kā: prajāpati; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: prajāpate

¹⁹ Kā: samṛje; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: svasurjyo

²⁰ Kā: vijihatān

²¹ Kā: sam

²² Kā: mattvapatim; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: santāptam; Gu_c: ?antāptam

²³ Kā: māhantam

²⁴ Kā: abhipatyamāne

²⁵ Kā: ja

²⁶ Kā: ṛtasya

²⁷ Pa_c: om.

²⁸ Kā: pārvay

²⁹ Kā: samudro; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: samudau

³⁰ Pa_c, Gu_c: kuksā

³¹ Kā: akṣaud; Ma_{2c}: a???? (unreadable)

³² Kā, Mā_{1c}: virāṭ

³³ Kā: chirah

³⁴ Ka: om.

³⁵ Kā, Pa_c: jātā

³⁶ Kā: vijayante; Mā_{1c}: vijantet

³⁷ Kā: om.

³⁸ Kā: om.; Pa_c: asmat

³⁹ Kā: om.; Ma_{2c}: pāpmano

⁴⁰ Kā: om.; Ma_{2c}: vijantet

⁴¹ Kā: z z z z ity atharvaṇikapaippalādaya śākhyam trayodaśah kāṇḍas
samāptaḥ zz zz; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: ṣoḍāśarcakāṇḍah; Pa_c: iti paippalādsam̄hitāyam
ṣoḍāśarcocyor nām(13) trayodaśakāṇḍah samāptaḥ; Gu_c: iti ṣoḍāśarcakāṇḍah
samāptaḥ

Identification of the Intermediate Space:
PS 13.1 - 2

This new hymn, which is not found in ŚŚ, can be placed into Bloomfield's category of theosophical and speculative hymns. The main topic of the hymn is the placing of all the important elements of the cosmos inside the individual. In addition, for protection against the malevolent actions of sorcerers, the *pratisara* amulet is mentioned in relation to this process of internalization of the cosmos. This amulet is also mentioned in ŚŚ 2.11 and 4.40, where it is used in the context of protection against witchcraft.

This hymn is an example in the Vedic corpus of an early level of Vedic magical thought. Several items of the cosmos and some of ritual are *antarhita-me* 'placed inside me'. Ritual items include: *agni*, *soma*, and the *dhiṣṇya* fires. However, most of the hymn is concerned with the placing of elements from the universe, as well as cosmogonic and some more abstract elements, into the intermediate space – the inner space - of the person, probably the *yajāmana*. Among the elements of the universe are mountains, fire, the wide-regions, streams, the twelve ponds, the seasons, herbs, flowers, animals, trees, and the sun. Important cosmogonic elements include the meters, the *sāman-s*, Prajāpati, Virāj, Puruṣa, the Sādhyas and the Āptyas, and the great (seven) seers (*r̥si-s*). Some unexpected *realia* seems to be included such as forts (*pur*).

Why does the composer of this spell want to place these things 'inside me'? The answer is simple: control and influence. If these things are placed inside the

person, then that person has direct control of them and thus can effect and affect them. Regarding magical thought, Witzel explains:

Vedic India regards any force of nature (such as the wind), good or bad luck, illnesses, feelings, and even abstract notions like revenge as living, personified powers. These forces have their own life, yet they are bound by certain general laws, especially the one of cause and effect: Nothing is without cause to the Vedic Indian; it is the cause for the existence of a particular entity, its origin and true nature that the Vedic magician wants to find out in order to influence it.¹

Thus, one could say that the present *antarhita me* hymn is the first and simplest level of magical thought in the Veda, which attempts to influence elements of the universe by placing under the direct physical control of the individual.

The second level of magical thought is the well-known type of identification of the type ‘Puṣan is cattle’ that is found all over the brāhmaṇas, but which appears already in the RV and the AV. An example is AV 5.9, which identifies the sun with eye, the wind with the breath, the atmosphere with the soul, and the earth with the body. Similarly, RV 10.16 identifies the eye of man with the sun and the breath with the wind. This type of identification, like as the identification of the *pravargya*-pot with the burning sun (“I look down on you with the eye of the sun”), establishes a connection (*bandhu*) between an element in the ritual and the cosmos. Karl Hoffmann has concisely expressed the principle behind such magical identifications:

¹ Witzel (1979: 6).

Das Prinzip dieses magischen Denkens ist etwa folgendes: Irgendein Faktum einer Ritualhandlung wird aufgrund eines gemeinsamen Merkmals mit irgendeinem Faktum eines Mythus, eines kosmischen oder irdischen Geschehens gleichgesetzt: magisch identifiziert. Ist diese magische Identifikation des einen Faktenpaars vollzogen, dann wird in durchaus folgerichtiger Weise argumentiert, daß auch die weiteren Fakten identisch seien.²

Again, the reason for identifying two entities is to attain control of the cosmic element by means of the control exerted on its counterpart in the ritual.³ Thus, one explanation given in the Agnihotra ritual for keeping the fire ‘awake’ at night is to keep the sun safe during its nightly passage through the underworld because the ritual fire is equated with the sun.⁴

The third level of magical thought in the Veda is that expressed in the Upaniṣads. In these texts, the nexus of identification or connections (*bandhu-s*) is expanded by one additional level. Following the system of identifications between the ritual and the cosmos, in the Upaniṣad we see the next full development on this trend: the identification of the cosmos (macrocosm), person (microcosm), and ritual (mesocosm). In these texts, we see the full interiorization of the ritual.

² Hoffmann (1968b: 14).

³ The topic of *bandhu-s* has most recently been discussed by Brian K. Smith in his *Reflections on Resemblance, Ritual, and Religion* (1989).

⁴ See Bodewitz (1976).

The mixture of ritual and cosmic items in this hymn foreshadow the later Upaniṣadic identification of the self (*ātman*) with parts of the ritual as well as part of the cosmos. One could say that the author of the hymn seems to be ahead of his time, as he even mentions that the *brahmajyotiṣa* is placed inside of the individual. This term is often used in the Upaniṣads to express the interiorization of the Vedic Sacrifice.

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.1
Translation

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.1

- 1 The high intermediate space (is) placed inside me. The mountains (and) fires (are) placed inside of me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 2 Let the ascetic heat (*tapas*) and exhaustion inside me move around. I place the poem (*brahman*) and the sacrifice inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 3 You two, Agni and Soma, will be inside (me). I make (for myself) the sky, as an armor, and the earth.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 4 The chanted *sāman* (is) placed inside me. Prajāpati, the chief (of the gods is) placed inside (me).
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 5 The queen of the snakes (and) Virāj (are) placed inside me. The man fit for sacrifice (is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 6 The six converging wide-spaces (are) placed inside me. The Sādhyas (and) the Āptya-s (are) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 7 The wise seers (are) [placed inside] me. The sun, Mātariśvan, (is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 8 The meandering streams (are) placed inside me. The herbs bearing flowers (are) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.1
Translation

- 9 The animals that are in thickets (are) placed inside me. The winged bird
 (is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the
opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]
- 10 The arrows of *brāhmaṇas* (are) placed inside me. The trees having roots
 (are) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the
opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]

- 1 The couches of the gods and their (temporary) forts (are) placed inside me. Among the meters, the Jagatī (is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]

- 2 The twelve lakes (are) placed inside me. The morning star (Venus is) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]

- 3 The (seven) *dhisnyā*-fire altars (are) placed inside me. The seasons, the sections of the year, (are) placed inside me.
[The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.]

- 4 The four directions (are) placed inside me. I place inside (myself) what which has become and what is to become.
The incantation of these ones here must not succeed. I beat them in the opposite direction with the reverter-amulet.

- 5 I beat your prepared oblation. You who have cut up (my oblation) violently,
(I tie up) your two arms behind. I tie up (your) mouth.

- 6 I tie up your two arms. I tie up (your) mouth.
By means of the wrath of the god Agni, with that, I have killed your offering, you who have cut up (my oblation) violently.

Paidva is the name of the horse given to Pedu by the Aśvins. The horse was given as a replacement for an inferior horse (*aghāśva*).¹ Paidva is said to be swift, strong, and white and is called *ahihān* ‘serpent-slaying,’ an epithet that is applied to Indra three times in the RV. Paidva is mentioned in four hymns in the RV when very little is said about him, especially as it relates to the important epithet *ahihān*.² In the AV, Paidva is mentioned six times in ŚŚ 10.4 in the context of a charm against snakes and snake-venom.

The present PS hymn provides more details about this famous horse. He is mentioned along with other remedies against snake venom, such as *nāku/a* and *māṁscatu*, which will make its venom sapless. He is linked to killing snakes, which is said to be the result of his neighing. At the same time, the serpent-killing ability of Paidva is connected with Indra’s major myth-cycle, the killing of Vṛtra. The verbal form of the narration of the basic Indo-European myth finds yet another variation in this hymn:³

¹ RV 1.116.6.

² RV 1.116–119, 4.38, 7.71, 10.39. See Bergaigne (1897 II: 460–462) and Macdonell (1897: 52, 149). Interestingly, the epithet *ahihān* appears five times in the RV, two of which are applied to Paidva.

³ Watkins (1995: 297-303).

HERO	SLAY (*gʰen-)	SERPENT	(with weapon) (with companion)
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PS 13.4.7cd krandenāśvasya vājino | ahanyantāhayah pṛthak

By means of the neighing of the swift horse, one by one the snakes were beaten.

Obviously, the attribution of Indra's epithet *ahihān* to Paidva has led to application of the basic formula, which defines this horse as hero.

This hymn is also interesting from the point of view of snake lore in Vedic literature. Although the IE word means snake, in the RV (and in Indo-Iranian in general⁴) *ahi* is pictured as the dragon-type creature whose main task seems to be to hold back the waters, which is equated with the holding back of life-giving forces. In the RV, *ahi* is still described as three-headed (*triśūṣán-/trimūrdhán*) and six-eyed (*ṣaṭáksa*). In this hymn, as well as in its counterpart, SS 10.4, we observe a transition from *ahi*, the three-headed dragon, to *ahi*, the snake. In typically Atharvavedic fashion, the hymn focuses on aspects of popular beliefs rather than the hieratic mythology of the RV. The context of SS material, according to Kausīka Sūtra, is protection against snakes, in particular their venom. This theme appears in several SS hymns: 4.7, 6.56, 7.56, 7.88, and 10.4, to mention a few. The aim of these charms is to make the venom 'sapless' and thus lose its strength and vigor.

⁴ Benveniste (1934).

Our PS hymn is, however, still in transition. Intermingled with the typical Atharvavedic sorcery as an antidote to the venom are a few reminiscences of Indra's battle against the great *ahi*, Vṛtra. Thus, a link is made between Vṛtra, the Indo-Iranian dragon (*aži/ahu*), who is not poisonous, and *ahi* as *sarpa*,⁵ the poisonous snake (perhaps the cobra). In this hymn, *ahi* sometimes seems to refer to "the *ahi*," Vṛtra, as the progenitor of all snakes (also called *ahi*). However, the most of the typical characteristics which are commonly associated with snakes in later Vedic texts such as *darvī* 'hood' (ŚŚ 10.4.13) and *vṛścika* 'stinger' (ŚŚ 10.4.10, PS 16.15.10) are not found in this PS hymn. The hymn stresses the connection of *ahi* with the poison-producing aspects of snakes. In this hymn, as in the AV in general, *ahi* expresses the overlapping concept of snake/dragon.

⁵ It should be noted that *sarpa* 'serpent' appears for the first time in the late RV 10.16, even though it is inherited from Indo-European.

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.3
Translation

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.3

- 1 Indra, risen, causes the chariot fitted with a turning blade as a missile to turn 100 *yojana-s*, crushing the descendants of Ahi.
- 2 The massive snakes creeping on their bellies were slain, curling (its) hind part upwards like a dog (curls its tail while) eating a rice-ball.
- 3 O evil one, having the form of evil, why did you thrust at my comrade? You did not see me come, the real destroyer of poison.
- 4 Having the teeth of a snake, we go about like those who tear the testicles of cattle.
I beat the (leopard-snake) embracing the *pīlu* trees. (I beat) the leopard-snake at (its) support.
- 5 Any person whatsoever impelled away this (poison), like (something) lead by the wind in various (directions).
All you pronounce the poison that belongs to the snake sapless!
- 6 Your dwelling (is) in the grass. O evil one, your house (is) in the *tripus*. The wind beats you who are unsplit. It rains upon (you) who are unsplit.
- 7 By means of the *nākula*-remedy, by means of that we crush the snakes. The small tree is the *māṁscatu* (tree). It has made them sapless.
- 8 O black snake, (your) venom (is) sapless, of both (you) and the constrictor. The pains which (are those) of the neighing (horse), we lead those away from here.
- 9 Paidva was born here. His turning (around was produced) here. Here, (as) the wild animal (is) neighing, the poison goes to destruction.
- 10 Let the winds going in different directions blow. Let the rains rain in every direction.
You must urinate on the poison in every direction as (through) a hole having a hundred streams.

- 1 From here, Indra causes the chariot, adorned with yellow (garlands) to turn.
With this (chariot), the *lihna* drives quickly crushing any animal named snake.
- 2 By means of which (chariot), O Indra, you crushed the enemies by means of which (chariot) you split Vṛtra,
by means of that (chariot), O you whose power is hundred fold, you crush the progeny of Ahi.
- 3 The earth, the sky (and) the sun rejoiced
when Paidva, who has a horse as a mother, dispersed the snakes by means of neighing.
- 4 When Paidva, who has a horse as a mother, dispersed the snakes by means of neighing
indeed, he (the snake) lays as toothed rope along the putrefying Earth.
- 5 The waters do not grow old or (does) that which is immortal (grow old).
May Indrāṇī not become a widow.
The poison, the besieger, does not abide in you (Indra) like an arrow (does not abide) on stone.
- 6 Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aditi, Bhaga
(and) the horse, Paidva, I call upon. This man of mine here must not be injured.
- 7 In that very moment, just born, neighing, along with the amnion, he shook (it) off.
By means of the neighing of the swift horse, the snakes were beaten one by one.

This is a hymn to Agni to protect his comrades. It may have been especially used by the house priest of the king. Agni is equated with not only all priestly knowledge and important seven priests but, most interestingly, with the purohita, the house priest of the king.¹

As the hymn proceeds, Agni is asked to guard the activities of the sacrificer, probably the king, in ever expanding circles. Agni is asked to protect and to make the sacrifice successful in order to obtain important wishes: warriors, protection at night, protection against the weapons of the other kings, protection against demons, wealth, and long life. Some of these wishes connect this hymn to the sphere of royal ritual and the main job of the king's purohita: to help the king by being instrumental in the success of the king's ritual. The purohita succeeds in this by correctly performing rituals but also, and perhaps more importantly, by using the magic (of the AV) at his disposal. This R̄gvedic hymn, which links the purohita of the gods (Agni) to the general well-being of the sacrificer, would have been particularly attractive to Atharvavedins who wanted to stress the connection between their Veda and the office of the purohita.

¹ The equation of Agni as *purohita* in RV 1.1, *agním īle purohītam* is found many times throughout the RV.

Paippalāda Samhitā 13.5-6
Translation

This original RV hymn, however, has not been taken over into the ŚŚ/Vulgate collection. Although later dharma texts point out that the purohita of the king should be a Paippalādin or Śaunakin,² ŚŚ does not seem to have the same programmatic direction in the redaction of its samhitā. The absence of the coronation ritual material of PS 10 from the ŚŚ also points to the different concerns of the Śaunakins and Paippaladins.

² See Chap. IIF above.

Paippalāda Samhitā 13.5
Translation

Paippalāda Samhitā 13.5

- 1 To deserving Jātaveda, let us bring about this song by means of (good) thoughtfulness as if (it was) a chariot.
In his company, (his) care for us (is) fortunate. O Agni, may we not be injured in your comradeship.
- 2 He succeeds for whom you sacrifice. He dwells unchallenged. He will obtain (for himself) an abundance of warriors.
He (becomes) strong. Distress (of narrowness) does not visit him. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 3 We will bring fuel. We will prepare the offerings for you, we who are attentive at every joint (of the month).
Make the crossing over of (our) thoughts succeed for living. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 4 We wish to be able to kindle you. Make (our) thoughts succeed. The gods eat the offering in you.
You, lead near the Āditya-s. Indeed, we desire them. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 5 You are the Adhvaryu and the ancient Hotṛ, the Praśāstr, the Potṛ (and) the Purohita by birth.
Knowing all offices of the priesthood, O wise one, you thrive. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 6 (Agni is) the protector of the directions when His creatures, the two-footed and the four-footed, wander during the nights.
You are the excellent great sight of Dawn. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 7 (You) who have a beautiful shape, of like appearance on all sides, you shine entirely over, even in the distance as nearby.
O god, you see even beyond the darkness of the night. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 8 O gods, let the chariot of (that one) pressing out (Soma) be in front. Let our praise surpass the malevolent ones.
Then, understand this speech (and) make (it) prosper. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.5
Translation

- 9 Beat away the bad praise of malevolent ones with your weapons. (Beat away) even the devouring-demons who are near and far.
Then, make a good path for the sacrifice, for the singer. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 10 When you have yoked to the chariot the two reddish ones, the two red (horses), those two who are swift as the wind, your roar (was) like that of bulls.
Thereupon, you advance upon the trees by means of that (chariot) which has smoke as its banner. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.6
Translation

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.6

- 1 And then the winged ones feared the noise when your grass-eating sparks spread.
This (is) the good path for your chariots. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 2 You (are) for nourishing of Mitra and Varuṇa. He (Agni) who is supernatural must ask for forgiveness of the anger of the Maruts. Be fully merciful toward us! (Let) their mind again (be merciful). O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 3 Supernatural Mitra, you are the best of the gods. You are best of the Vasus, dear to the sacrifice.
May we be under (your) widest shelter. O Agni, [may we not be injured in your comradeship.]
- 4 This is your auspicious (nature) that when kindled in your own house (and) offered *soma*, you who are most merciful one, keep awake. You establish a gift and (movable) wealth for the offerer. O Agni, may we not be injured in your comradeship.
- 5 O possessor excellent (moveable) wealth, to whom you give, he is blameless in totality, O Aditi (Agni).
Whom you will impel by means of auspicious strength. Let us, having progeny exist by means of your kindness.
- 6 Now, O Agni, you knowing about welfare, O god, extend our life here. May you, Mitra and Varuṇa, grant (that) to us. (May) Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Heaven (grant that to us).

This hymn is a representative of an old style of riddles or *brahmodya-s*. A *brahmodya* may be said to be a verbal contest whose focus is the analysis of the speculation about cosmogonical and cosmological questions, or about nature of *brahman* or supreme knowledge.¹ According to L. Renou, the *brahmodya* is “l’aboutissement (peut-être dégradé) de l’énigme essentielle du védisme ancien.” Speculation about such riddles formed a central part of Vedic rituals such as the Aśvamedha, Rājasūya, and Vājapeya.

Heesterman understands the classical *brahmodya* as an expression of the ritualist’s effort to remove violence out of the ritual – a violence that was ever present in his theoretical pre-classical ritual:

In fact, sacrifice generally turns on the act of violence, on death, by which its opposite, life, is to be won. Since the classical ritual was based on the break-up of the antithesis (the essential antithesis being life-death), it had to stress life and eliminate death (or at least eliminate it from the place of sacrifice). Actual, violent death was replaced, as I have argued elsewhere, by the non-violent ritual error, to be avoided or expiated in a “technical” way. What is of interest to us is that the antithesis of life and death, albeit under the guise of ritual correctness and error, is not only verbalized, but acted out by the two parties²

¹ See Kuiper (1960).

² Heesterman (1985: 75).

These riddles or *brahmodya* hymns are found in the earliest Vedic text, the RV. The riddles generally entail a discussion between two poets or priests: one posed the questions and the other attempted to answer. However, this is not the only style of riddles that is found in the oldest literature. RV 1.164, the famous riddle hymn by Dīrghatama is simply a series of riddles or questions without explicit answers – like the present PS hymn. Doniger considers the central theme of RV 1.164 on the explicit level to be “the poet’s uncertainty about his knowledge and his joy in experiencing an enlightening vision.”³ This explanation does not seem to fit with the historical development of these types of discussion and arguments as they are seen in the brāhmaṇa texts. Yājñavalkya, for example, hardly seems to be uncertain about his knowledge in the *brahmodya-s* in which he is a participant. One example would be ŚB 14.6.1 = BĀU 3.1, where Yājñavalkya orders the cows (*dakṣinā*) to simply be driven away when asked: ‘Venerable Brahmans, let him of you who is the best Brahman drive away these cows.’ Uncertainty is not a feature of these riddles or of the later *brahmodyas*.⁴

Recently, George Thompson has discussed a typology of *brahmodya* found in Vedic literature. He has distinguished between two types of *brahmodya*: the shorter

³ Doniger (1981: 72).

⁴ Cf. Witzel (1987d).

riddling type and the longer self-assertive or enigmatic type.⁵ The shorter riddling type finds its classical locus in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, for example VS 23.55-56:

*kā ūm are piśāngilā
kā ūm kurupiśāngilā
kā ūm āskándam arṣati
kā ūm pánthām vīsarpati*

*ajáre piśannigitā
śvatít kurupiśāngilā
śasá āskándam arṣati
áhiḥ pánthām vīsarpati*

What then is the brown one?
What is the Kurus' brown one?
What is it that bounding leaps?
What that crawls beside the path?

The goat is the brown one.
The porcupine is the Kurus' brown one.
The hare is it that bounding leaps.
The snake crawls beside the path

Written mostly in anuṣṭubh stanzas, it consists of a question portion followed by an answer portion where the answer portion “consists simply in the replacement of the interrogative element of the question portion with a syllabically equivalent noun element in the answer portion.”⁶

The longer, enigmatic types of *brahmodya*, usually written in trīṣṭubh stanzas, generally consist, like the shorter *brahmodya*, of a question and answer pair. The main difference, however, seems to be one of formulation. According to Thompson, “[t]he interrogative element of the question portion is the trisyllabic verb *pṛchāmi*, rather than the brief interrogative pronoun.”⁷ Furthermore, Thompson argues that the use of *pṛchāmi*, which is marked in the initial line

⁵ See Thompson (1997).

⁶ Thompson (1997: 14).

⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

position changes the whole focus of this type of *brahmodya*. Rather than being a test of the participant's knowledge, "it questions, instead, the personal authority, the self-assurance, of the respondent, and invites a response that is self-assertive, even defiant, rather than a set of answers."⁸ Thompson points out that the longer enigmatic *brahmodya-s* preserve "agonistic features, which are only implicit in the shorter type."⁹ The use of *prchāmī* in the marked, line initial position emphasizes the agonistic element.

The present hymn fits more in the enigmatic *brahmodya* paradigm. The author of the hymn has used *prchāmī* in the marked position several times throughout the hymn. However, he has also used interrogative elements in the sentence-initial position. Furthermore, unlike the shorter riddling *brahmodya*, our hymn offers no answers throughout. Unlike VS 23.61-64, a quotation of RV 1.164.34-35, our hymn does not offer an answer counter part to its questions.¹⁰

The agonistic element that Thompson points to in the enigmatic types of *brahmodya* is also present in our hymn. In addition to the use of *prchāmī* in the hymn, the fourth pāda of several stanzas further intensifies the focus on the

⁸ Ibid., p. 21. On the importance of personal prestige and the risk entailed in establishing such prestige in the verbal contest, see Witzel (1987a).

⁹ Ibid., p.18.

¹⁰ As Thompson points out, the answer counterpart in RV 1.164.34-35 really offers no answer at all. Rather, there is only a restatement of the question by replacing *prchāmī* by a demonstrative pronoun.

participant by demanding an answer (using the imperative). For example, PS 13.7.6, 13.7.9, and 13.8.1 ends a series of question demanding an answer, signaled by *brūhi* ‘tell!’ Similarly, PS 13.7.8 ends with *tāni vēttha* ‘you know them!’ This is probably an abbreviated *tam + nāḥ pra brūhi yadi tam pravettha* ‘tell us that if you know it!’ which is used in PS 13.7.9 and 13.8.1.

A riddle hymn similar to our example, of perhaps an earlier period, is found in the Avesta and in the Old Norse mythology¹¹. Yasna 44 is a series of cosmological and cosmogonic questions posed by Zarathushtra to Ahura Mazdā.

Y 44.13

*taṭ̄θ̄ pərəsā ərəś mōi vaocā Ahurā
yastat̄ mīḍām hanəṇtē nōiṭ dalti
yē iṭ ahmāi ərəžuxdā na dāitē
kā təm ahīā maēniš anhaṭ̄ pauruiiē
vīduuā auuām yā im anhaṭ̄ apəmā*

I ask you this: tell me truly, O Ahura
He who did not give the wage to him who earns it,
The man who obtains it by a correct utterance,
Which will be the first punishment (to reach) him for this?
He knows about that one, which will be the last (to reach) him.¹²

The structure of the passage is similar in style to that of the riddles or questions posed in the Aśvamedha in VS 23.61 with the answer given in the next verse.

¹¹ The Völuspa tells of the repeated questioning, in riddle form, about the origin of the world, gods, and humans. To gain access to this special knowledge, Odin lost one eye.

¹² Translation from materials used for Gatha Colloquium (Spring 1995) by Prods Oktor Skjærvø, Harvard University.

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.7-8
Translation

*pr̥chámi tvā páram ántam pr̥thivyáḥ
pr̥chámi yátra bhúvanasya nábhīḥ
pr̥chámi tvā vṛṣṇo ásvasya rétaḥ
pr̥chámi vācáḥ paramám vyòma*

This style of simply asking questions, some of which may or may not have answers, is preserved in the present PS hymn thus indicating that such riddles or contests are at least part of the Indo-Iranian poetic tradition.¹³

¹³ Cf. Thompson (1997: 23–25).

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.7
Translation

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.7

- 1 What (garment) of Indra is put on? What (garment) of Agni? What (garment) of Viṣṇu? of Tvāstr? of Varuṇa?
(What garment) of Br̥haspati? Of King Soma? Let the Maruts make rain.
Wearing what?
- 2 What is the root element of Rudra? of Vāyu? (What is) the great garment of the strong ones?
What does Pūṣan (and) Brahmaṇaspati; and what do the All-gods carry?
- 3 What is the common garment of the gods in which there was harmony among them?
Where does the night dwell? Where (does) the day (dwell)? Where (does) this world (dwell)? That becomes the thundercloud when it comes together and goes apart.
- 4 With which (vessel) do they carry waters to heaven? Who (is) the leader on the same path?
I ask you about the paths of the wind, of lightning, of thunder, of the water (and) of Agni.
- 5 I ask you about the speckled and red (cow). I ask you about the calf, together with its mother.
I ask you about Indra before my eyes and the lord of the highest assembly (of gods).
- 6 Who bestowed the names of the birds? Who (bestowed the names) of animals? Who (bestowed the names) of snakes, which were the troops of the gods?
Who bestowed (the names) of the offspring? Tell us that!
- 7 How many steps do they climb to the sun by which the reddish one ascended to heaven,
the supporters of the realm, the supporters of the reign, the supporters of wealth, the granters of wealth, those who are liberal with wealth, (and) those who strive for wealth.
- 8 Who steps beyond by (his) greatness four-fold? What do the poets protect carefully?
I ask you about the (primordial) man before my eyes. How many are the limbs of Death? You know them!

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.7
Translation

- 9 Which *vajra* Indra the bull among the settled people sharpens fighting with Ahi;
by means of which (*vajra*) Maghavan squashed Vṛtra. Tell us that if you know that!
- 10 Who bestowed the names on the mountains? Who bestowed the (names) on the trees ? on the herbs?
I ask you about the navel of being. I ask you about the cow, which one of many is now in front of my eyes?

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.8
Translation

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.8

- 1 Here, Where are the cots and trunks of the gods? Tell us about them, if you know them!
I ask you: how great are those snakes for which Agni – who is foreknowing, who is immortal among mortals – carries what was offered (and) what is to be offered by mortals.
- 2 The one who in sleep comes together with darkness, grasping the limbs, (and) is the eye of man.
In the morning, that one leaves together with darkness. He goes towards the light. Where really does he go?
- 3 (I ask) the king, the lord of authority, the lord of honey, and the bees.
I ask you about all gods and those who do not partake of the offering.
How many are there?
- 4 Who looks around this (all) from the middle space? From whom was the power produced at the beginning?
From whom did he fear great fear? From the corner of which yoked one's mouth did blood fall out? Where is that here?
- 5 In this manner, some go forth, some (go) southwards, (some) westwards, some go forth northwards (and some) eastwards.
Meeting with all of them here, he, having become one, fore-knowing wanders about.

This final portion of prose text of PS 13 is found in the PSK as part of hymn 13.14. In all Orissa manuscripts, this section of prose is counted as a separate sūkta.

The text presents a creation myth based partly on the story of the birth of the Āditya-s already hinted at in RV 10.72 and told in more detail at MS1.6.12, KS 10.16, TS 6.5.6 and ŚB 3.1.3.3.4.¹ In this myth, Aditi offers an *odana* dish to the gods in order to become pregnant. Since she produced excellent sons each time she offered the dish, she thought that if she ate before she offered she would produce even more excellent sons. This improper (ritual) action creates a being so powerful that the other Āditya-s, still in the womb, are frightened. They caused Aditi to abort (*nirvahan*). The abortion was Mārtānda (ŚB). The dead egg was re-molded and from it Vivasvant, the father of Manu was created.

The present hymn has conflated the Aditi story with some of the cosmogonic themes present in the Veda, namely, the idea of dismemberment as a creative process. In the present hymn, the embryo is conceived by *mānicī* by means of (an implied) offering, probably of *caru*,² to Prajāpati. After an offering by Prajāpati,

¹ This important myth has been treated extensively by Hoffmann (1976) and Jamison (1991).

² Caru is the śrauta counter-part of the *odana*.

Paippalāda Samhitā 13.9
Translation

rather than an abortion,³ the egg is split. The split creates heaven and earth, the two oceans⁴, the sun and moon (and thus day and night), and finally the mysterious entity Virāj. This last one, links this piece of prose to the well-known hymn RV 10.90, the dismemberment of the sacrificial Puruṣa by the gods.

³ There are no terms that indicate an abortion, but, like the incorrectly conceived embryo inside Aditi, this embryo also speaks. One can assume that this embryo could have been also aborted and that Prajāpati ‘fixed’ it after being asked to do so.

⁴ Presumably, the lake (*samudra*) on earth and the ocean in the sky (the Milky Way).

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.9
Translation

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 13.9

There was a ray of light. She (the ray) originated from mind |1|

She was impregnated. She conceived a fetus |2|

That embryo grew. That grown (one) said: 'I will be born.' |3|

To this (embryo), Prajāpati offered [saying] "this one who has a good standing place" and "this one who is good to be walked on." |4|

Prajāpati created (them saying). You two skulls (*kapālas*), move apart. Do not heat me up overlooking the great world. |5|

That one was born. Of that one (just) born, the two sides (were) Heaven and Earth, the two bellies (were) the two oceans, the two eyes were the moon and sun, and the head (was) Virāj |6|

When he was born, all evils flee him. All evils flee from this one who knows thus. ||7||

1. Cf. ŚŚ 10.4.1.

pratisara: This is an amulet used to turn back sorcery. The term appears in ŚŚ 2.11.2, 4.40.1-8 and 8.5.1,4-6. See Whitney (1905) and Gonda (1937).

2. 2b Tr. Uncommon opening x ॐ – ॐ.

mad: The use of *mad*, Ab. sg. instead of the regularly used *me* throughout hymn is unexpected. In all instances where *vdhā* is the verb, the locative pronoun *mayi* would be what one might expect. However, as Bloomfield (1934: 316, 325) notes the interchange between the dative and locative is quite frequent and “hardly distinguishable in meaning,” especially after *vdhā*, for example: *yaśo mayi dhehi* PB, VaitS ‘place splendor in me’ and *yaśo me dhehi* (TĀ *dhāḥ*) ŚŚ ‘assign splendor for me.’ He also notes variants of the ablative and locative with *antar*, for example *ya usriyā aptyā* (SV *api yā*) *antar aśmanah* (SV °ni) ‘the cows from within (SV cows within) the rock.’ The PS hymn shows a preference for dative *me* over the more correct locative *mayi*, the former being preferred for metrical reasons. In the present case, although emending *mad* to *me* would not alter the meter and would produce a more regular syntax, such an emendation would go against the editing principle of preserving the peculiarities of the Paippalāda Saṁhitā. See also Wackernagel-Debrunner *AIG* (3: 461) and Delbrück (1888: 113-114) on the strong form of the pronoun. Renou (1930: 366) also notes a similar confusion with *me* and *te*.

tapas: From *vītap* ‘to heat,’ *tapas* refers to the accumulated (magical) power that results from the ascetic practices of Brahmins. However, in the RV and AV,

tapas is also one of the cosmic-forces or power-substances (Daseinmacht), which constantly acts upon and frames the conceptual cosmos of Vedic civilization in the same manner that in the modern conceptual cosmos physical forces like gravity, strong and weak nuclear force, etc. act upon and frame the physical universe. In RV 10.190.1, it is said that *ṛtám ca satyám cābhiddhāt tápaso ádhy ajāyata* ‘the force of active truth (*ṛta*) and spoken-truth (*satya*) are born from inflamed austerities (*tapas*).’ In, this instance *tapas* functions as the outer frame within which all other cosmic-forces or power-substances contained – *satya, anna, amṛta, śraddhā, āpas,* and *agni* are generally born of *ṛta*. *Tapas* develops in the Vedic, and especially by the Epic period into an independent power that can be accessed by anyone who undertakes severe ascetic practices. This power-substance can be gained, accumulated, increased, but also lost, stolen, and destroyed – Cf. TS 3.1.1.2 regarding the *dīksā* and ŚB 13.4.1.9 in relation to the king. See PS 14.4.7-7 below. Cf. Oldenberg (1894: 220-221) and Hara (1994, 1997).

3. 3b Tr. 10 syllables. Restoring *kṛṇuv-* results in rare cadence $\cup \cup \cup x$. Furthermore, -nv- is rarely restored to -n_uv- in the RV. Cf. Arnold (1905: 105). Arnold notes the verbal suffix -nu- shows only occasional vocalization. Following van Nooten and Holland (1995: x-xii), this line can be restored by introducing a syllabic rest yielding $\cup \text{--} \cup | \cdot \cup \cup \text{--} \cup \text{--}$. This preserves the general rule of having a ligh syllable in the 2nd position after the caesura. Cf. Arnold (1905: 209-215).

4. 4a Tr. 10 syllables. This 10-syllable pāda cannot be properly restored. If a rest is introduced after the 4th syllable, the break pattern becomes impossible as the 2nd syllable after the caesura would be heavy, cf. van Nooten and Holland (1994: vi). Furthermore, the cadence produced if a rest is introduced is uncommon $\cup - \cup x$ (25 x in RV). It should also be noted that in many of the pāda-s in this hymn, *me* occurs in the 5th position. Introducing a rest after the 4th syllable would break this recurring pattern. See Arnold (1905: 212-214) and Van Nooten and Holland (1994: xii).

Prajāpati: This deity is relatively unknown in the RV. The term *prajāpati* occurs in RV 4.53 as an epithet of Savitṛ. Otherwise, the term appears as the proper name of a deity only four times in RV 10 – 10.85.43, 10.184.1, 10.169.4, and 10.121, which are devoted to him. The full mythological import of Prajāpati is not seen until the YV where he is the chief creator deity. In the AV, he is invoked often as protector of generation and living beings. Prajāpati is mentioned in PS 15.13-14 and ŚŚ 11.6, which lists of the most important deities of whom relief is asked. PS 15.14.4=ŚŚ 11.6.13 is common to the AV tradition. See Gonda (1986).

5. **sarparājñī:** sarparājñī or sarpārajñī, according to tradition, the composer of RV 10.189, is identified with the earth. The verses, however, make no mention of snakes. One explanation for the ritual application of the *sarpārajñī* verse is found in the Daśarātra ritual (ĀB 5.23). On the 10th day, after the performance of the *patnisamyājas*, the priest ‘move back in a snaking fashion’ into the *sadas*. The priest

crouching one behind the other move back ‘like a snake’ to be the *sadas*. See Minkowski (1991).

Virāj: The feminine principle born from *purusa* in RV X.90. In the RV, she is a necessary element of creation: *purusa* is (re-) born from *virāj* and was then able to be productive. The identity of *virāj* in the RV is quite obscure. She seems to be identified with the primordial waters. In later Vedic mythology, Virāj is identified with food and with Aditi. See PS 14.6.8n below.

puruṣo medhyah: ‘the man fit for sacrifice’ points to awareness of human sacrifice (*puruṣamedha*) in the Vedic texts. VādhB 4.108 provides the most direct statement about human sacrifice. The text speaks of a sacrificer not wanting to eat the *idā* portion of the human victim. The human victim is then replaced, successively, by a horse and a hornless goat. The passage also mentions the five original sacrificial victims (*pasū*) – man, horse, bull, ram, and goat – which were eventually replaced by rice and barley. The passage also speaks of the gods’ retreat from humanity upon these substitutions. It seems they were quite fond the *asu* and *medha* produced from humans. Cf. AB 2.8. See Schmidt (1997: 212) and Witzel (1997d: 391-92).

6. **śad urvīḥ:** the four compass-directions plus the upper and lower direction. These wide-regions must be different from the real geographical directions like *pūrvādiś*, the true eastern direction of the sky. Already RV 10.128 makes a distinction between the four *diś* and *śad urvīḥ*. Sāyaṇa explains the wide-regions as Heaven, Earth, Day, Night, Water, and Plants. See Witzel (2000).

Sādhyā-s: This is one of the groups of deities that according to the Veda existed before the *deva-s*. In several passages, the Sādhyas are said to have reached heaven before the generation of *deva-s* led by Indra. Cf. KS 23.8, 26.7, MS 3.9.5, and TS 6.3.5.1. They are called *pūrve devās* ‘the ancient gods.’ They were the first to reach heaven by means of ritual. They are also said to try to keep the *deva-s* out of heaven, cf. KS 23.8. According to Kuiper (1979: 242-244), it seems that they and probably the other (previous) generations of gods, which include the *Viśve Devās*, stand in an opposition to the newer group, the *deva-s*.

Āptya-s: In the RV as well as later, *āptya* seems to refer to an entire class of beings. RV 10.120.6: *stuséy; Yam puruvárpasam i'bhvam inátamam āpt;yám āpt;yánām | ā darṣate sávasā saptá dānūn prá sāksate pratimánāni bhúri* ‘(I impel) the praiseworthy one, who has many forms, skillful, the most powerful, the best of the Āptyas. With his strength, he will split open the Seven Dānu-s. He will conquer many well matched opponents.’ AB 8.14.3 and ŚB 13.4.3.16, place the Āptya-s next to the Sādhyā-s, the Maruts and Aṅgiras, and the Anvādhyas and Maruts. Furthermore, in AB the Sādhyā-s, Āptya-s and *deva-s* are said to be: *athainam asyām dhruvāyām madhyamāyām pratiṣṭhāyām disi sādhyas cāptyas ca devāḥ ṣadbhīś caiva pañcavimśair ahobhir abhyaśiñcann* ‘Then in this fixed middle established direction, the Sādhyā-s, Āptya-s and the gods anointed him with the six-day Pañcavimśa...’ Like the Sādhyā-s and the Viśve Devās, the Āptya-s seem to be part of a generation of gods, which predates the Āditya-s. This is further supported by what the texts tell about the better known among the Āptya-s, namely Trita

Āptya. Trita Āptya's most famous deed in the RV is the slaying of Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ. The similarity of Trita Āptya to Avestan Thraētaona, son of Āϑbiia was noted by Hillebrandt (1927-29) and has most recently been discussed by Watkins (1995: 331-323) in the context of a common Indo-Iranian myth. According to Watkins, Avestan Thrita and Thraētaona are ablaut variants of the same name, which is identical to Vedic Trita Āptya. Avesta Āϑbiia < *ātpiia is identical with Vedic Āptya, which has been remade by metathesis probably by association with āp 'water'. See Mayrhofer EWA s.v.

7. [⁺antarhitā] is the crucial *lacuna* that establishes the interrelationship of all PS manuscripts. Cf. Chap. III G-H.

r̥sayah: Refers to the seven seers, *sapta r̥sayah* (Av. *hapto iringa*, cf. Yasht 8) who are still visible in the sky after having reached heaven and become permanent residents. They are the constellation Ursa Maior, the Great Bear. This association is clear from ŚB 2.1.2.4 *saptarsi u ha sma vai pura rksā ity ācakṣate* 'for the seven seers were declared as the bears.' This old name, cf. RV 1.24.10, is related to GK. Arktos. See Witzel (1984: 219). On the *sapta r̥sayah*, see also PS 13.7.2n below.

Mātariśvan: In the RV, *mātariśvan* refers both to the fire (*agni*) and to the producer or receiver of fire, the Vedic Prometheus, cf. RV 3.5.10. In RV 3.5.9, Agni is called Tanūnapāt, Narāśamsa and Mātariśvan. Elsewhere, Agni is said to appear to Mātariśvan (RV 1. 31.3, 1.143.2). In post-Rgvedic texts, *mātariśvan* appears as another term for wind. In the ŚS passages where the word appears, it nearly always means wind. However, given the relation of Agni and the sun, which in ritual is

made explicit, the identification of sun and *mātarisvan* in AV is not unlikely. See Macdonell (1897: 71-72).

8. 8a Tr. Rare break – | --.

9 ⁺**kakṣyāḥ**: There are two meanings for *kákṣa* in Vedic: (1) ‘bushes, shrubbery, Gebüsch;’ and (2) ‘armpit, Achselhöhle.’ The latter meaning, according to Hoffmann (1966), from *kákṣa-* m., is a homonym found only in AV 6.137.2 along with secondary derivations based on it: *upakaksá-* (RV 10.71.7), *apikaksá-* (RV 10.134.7), *apikakṣyā-* (RV 1.117.2), etc. According to Hoffmann, the meaning ‘bush’ cannot be settled, as with Mayrhofer *EWA* s.v., as a later, secondary meaning from *kákṣa-* ‘armpit’. *kakṣa* having the meaning of body part belongs with YAv. *kaśa-*, Lat. *coxa* and OHG *hahsa*. Vedic *kákṣa-* ‘bush, thicket’ probably belongs with OHG *hag* ‘hedge, fence, Hecke’, *hegga*, *hecka*, *hagan* “thorny bush, Dornbusch” which is from IE **kagh* ‘to enclose’. With VS 16.34, *kakṣya* can mean ‘belonging to the bush or thicket.’ Jamison (1987: 81-88) also agrees that *kákṣa-* “must be at least synchronically distinct from the body part.” The usage in this PS hymn supports the meaning of *kakṣa-* as a place where animals hide, which must certainly be the savannah or grasslands outside inhabited areas such as *grāma-s* or villages. Cf. Hoffmann (1982: 67-69).

10. 10b Jg. Uncommon cadence -- ∪ - x.

1. **pur:** The evidence from the early Vedic texts, as gathered by Rau (1973) suggests that a *pur* consisted of several concentric ramparts on round ground plan. These forts were made of mud or stone and often needed repair after the rainy season. They included wooden sheds as quarters for occupants that were stocked with provisions (water, fodder for cattle). These structures were temporary in nature and seem to have been occupied at times of danger. During war, they served as a base of operation. Such evidence does not fit with the old theory proposed by Wheeler, that *pur* refers to the abandoned or destroyed cities of the Indus Valley Civilization. Cf. F. R. Allchin (1995) and Erdosy (1995).

2. 2a Tr. Uncommon cadence -- ∪ x.

samudra: The mention of twelve *samudra-s* argues against some older and more recent opinions (Bisht, in press) that this term means the earthly seas or oceans. *Samudra* may refer to confluences or large lakes which were formed by the seasonal overflow of rivers in the Punjab. Mention of multiplicity of waters and oceans, and for that matter other parts of the cosmos including the earth, sky, sun, etc., is found in AV 11.7.14, 13.3.6, and 19.27.4. See PS 14.1.8n below. Cf. Kirfel (1991) and Klaus (1986).

ausāsi: From the grammatical form, this is a star or a celestial body that is ‘related to Uṣas.’ It must be a star that is visible at dawn or at times close to dawn. This is probably Venus, which is one of the brightest heavenly bodies and especially visible toward dawn. TB attests *ausadī* ‘star’. However, Klaus (1986) and Kirfel (1991) both list other names for Venus, not including *ausasī*. This is a unique name

for a particular heavenly body that cannot be identified with any particular celestial body, so far.

3. **dhiṣṇya:** Small altars, seven in number, used by the Soma priests: *hotṛīya* (for the *hotṛ*), *āgnīdhriyā* (for the *āgnīdhra*), *praśāstriyā* (for the *maitrāvaruṇa*) and for the *brāhmaṇācchamsin*, *potṛ*, *neṣṭṛ*, *acchāvāka* plus an additional one, the *mārjāliya*. The *mārjāliya* is located outside the *sadas*, opposite the *āgnādhra* to the south of the *mahāvedi*. It is the place where the sacrificial utensils are cleansed. It is half inside and half outside of the *vedi*. These altars are already mentioned in the RV, and are said to by some scholars (Cf. Allchin (1995:48)) to be present in the pre-Vedic period BMAC site of Kalibangan.

r̥tu: This term is used in the RV to denote the seasons. The RV knows generally five seasons: spring (*vasanta*), summer (*grīṣma*), the rainy season (*prāvṛṣ*), autumn (*śarad*), and winter (*himā*, *hemanta*). A more usual division into five seasons is found in AV (8.2.22, 8.9.15, 13.1.18, but not in the RV, enumerates five seasons: *vasanta*, *grīṣma*, *varsā*, *śarad*, *hemanta-śisīra*. A list of six seasons is also found in AV (6.55.2, 12.1.36) in which *hemanta* and *śisīra* are counted as two separate seasons.

5. b = TB 2.4.2.2.

1. Cf. ŚŚ 10.4.1.

1c An. 9 syllables.

kṣuravartamāna: This term probably refers to the *kṣurapavi* ‘the razor-tire’, which according to Sparreboom (1995: 130-131) is the armed wheel of battle chariots. No representation of this ‘razor-tire’ has been found thus far. The function of such razors or spokes sticking out of the wheel is to damage the opponent’s wheels. In RV 1.166.10, *pavi* is the name of a weapon. This weaponry attached to the chariot’s wheel is similar to that known from the chariots in the Oxus area. It is also reminiscent of Indra’s *vajra*, which is supposed to turn as it flies through the air and actually returns, much like a boomerang. Cf. Thapar (1975) on *vajra*.

A *yojana* is a measure of length that refers especially to the distance traveled without having to unyoke one’s oxen. 1 *yojana* = 4 *krosas* = approximately 9 miles. Cf Macdonell (1912) s.v.

The copyist of Gu_c has actually written *jotāni* but has scratched out the pr̥ṣṭamātra portion of the vowel (e), thus indicating the correct reading, *jātāni*.

2. 2c An. 7 syllables. Rare cadence – ∪ ∪ x. 2c An. Uncommon opening x – ∪ ∪.

‘udveṣṭayanta<ś> śva: *ud* + √*vesṭ* ‘to wind, to twist upward.’ Although a comparatively late attested meaning (Mhb +), it is exactly what describes what the tail of a dog does when it is eating. The image remains difficult to understand. The massive serpent (*ahi*) which creeps or slithers wraps itself around its tail/hind part upon being slain, in the same manner that a dog, stretched out, eating a piṇḍa, curls

its tail. This could refer to the general coiled posture of snakes as they prepare to attack their prey. More likely, however, the image is that of a dead snake. After a snake has died, nerve reflexes may cause muscle twitches for several hours after death. The muscle twitching may cause the snake's body to coil. See Enrst and Zug (1996: 79).

On *vestayanta*, Jamison (1983: 134) follows the idea laid down by Tedesco that *vista/vestā* is the result of the hyper-Sanskritization of the Middle Indic form of $\sqrt{vṛt}$ (**vṛtth*) – a formal development based on *vartate/vartayati*. Gotō (1988: 313) notes about Tedesco's hypothesis that “lautgesetzlich, zumindest, ist die Hypothesis ausgeschlossen.” Cf. Mayrhofer *EWA* sub *vest*, and Gotō (1987: 299-300).

All manuscripts read id for ‘ud. This confusion between i- and u- in both branches is not uncommon, especially in PSK. A good example is PS 8.12.12, The Surā hymn: Kā: *idam kurucemām sūrā*; Mā₁, Ma₂: *idam kodacemām sūra*. PS should read: **udānikodacemām sūrām* ‘spoon, scoop up this surā.’ The reading in the present hymn must have resulted not only from the influence of the local pronunciation but also probably from re-interpretation at some point transmission: **pucham udvestayanta > puchāmi dveṣa*?

3. 3a An. Uncommon opening x u u -.

The portion of the text in PSK, after *aga-*, continues in PSK 11.6.11 with *-tām* and is accented on the last three words of the verse, which are the last three words

of PSK 11.6, a hymn that is accented throughout. Cf. Witzel (1976) and Bhattacharya (1997: xxii-xxix)

Cf. ŚŚ 10.4.24. The poison-destroying (*viśadusanaṁ*) tracks of Indra's chariot are identified with the potency of the *taudī* plant.

4. PS 13.3.3 = PSK 13.13.5 located at line 4 of folio 153a. The next verse, PS 13.3.4 continues at PSK 11.7.1, line 9 of folio 141a. Orissa manuscripts do not have this disjunction.

carāmasi: The *-masi* ending is the more common ending in the RV, occurring five times as frequent as *-mas*. In AV, *-mas* is more common than *-masi*. In this instance, metrical conditions have forced the poet to use the older, less common AV form. See Macdonell (1977: 314).

⁺pīlūn: *pīlu* is only attested as m. (AVP +) as well as later in Suśruta, Caraka and MHB. In AV 20.135.12, *pīlu* n. is attested as the 'fruit of the Pīlu tree'. See Mayrhofer *EWA* s.v.

prdāku: This term refers to a particular color and/or pattern of a snake rather than being generic term for snakes – which seems to be *ahi*, at least in this hymn (also ŚŚ 10.4). As discussed by Lubotsky in the Second International Vedic Workshop, October 1999, *prdāku* refers to a particular kind of snake as opposed to *tīraścīraji* ‘cross-lined’ in ŚŚ 10.4.13 = PS 16.16.3. *prdāku* also refers to the panther (*panther pardus*) in ŚŚ 6.38.1 as well as PS 5.10.3. Lubotsky agrees with Zehnder that naming a snake *prdāku* must be due to the pattern of the skin of the snake. He offers the solution that *prdāku* is Russell's viper (*Vipera russelli*), a

poisonous snake common in the subcontinent. This snake when full grown has a thick body like a python with dark brown diamond shaped markings that run in three rows. When threatened it coils up and hisses loudly and continuously. Cf. Zehnder (1999: 29).

5. 5c An. Uncommon opening x – ० ०; uncommon cadence – – – x. 5d An. Uncommon opening x – ० ०.

⁺apāsausur: S-aorist of *apa* + √*sū* ‘to impel away.’ Gotō (1991: 692-697).

āheyam: Cf. Pāniṇī 4.3.56 *dṛtikuṣikaluśivastyasyaherḍhañ*, which explains the affix *dhañ* (> -yam) with the sense of ‘what stays there’.

aingo anu: The opening – – ० ० is rare the RV, occurring only 179 x. If -o a-abhinihita sandhi is allowed, and -e a- re-introduced in *sarve brūta*, a better opening is obtained, – – ० –. However, in both cases, the cadence is uncommon – – – x (62x in RV. although with slightly higher frequency in PS). The sense of the passage is helped by the less common opening. Having *abrūta*, an imperfect following an aorist does not make much sense. An aorist – an action just performed – followed by an imperative, *brūta*, makes better sense. See also, ŚS 6.60.2ab *aingo anvayāmann asyā*, – – – | ० – – –. On *ainga* + √*brū*, see ŚS 5.11.7, 9.9.5.

6. 6b An. Uncommon opening x ० ० –. 6c An. Uncommon cadence – – – x. 6d An. Uncommon opening x – ० ०.

triddhisi: *lectio difficilior*. I have translated a proposed reading *tṛṇesu*. ŚS 10.4.13 speaks of the different types of snakes being slain in the *darbhā*-grass (*darbhesu*). The PS verse suggests that the snakes, the unsplit ones (*achinnam*) are

slain in their home. In desert and savannah areas, snakes hide and live in whatever grassy areas may exist.

tripuṣi: *lectio difficilior.* This is probably a local name. The basic structure of the word, tri – √ – i indicates a locative. For example, *treliṅga/ triliṅga/ kaliṅga* is the name of Orissa, originally from Telegu, or *trigarta*, the name for Jammu. Tri- may be a Sankritization of non-IA *tə* > *tr* > *tri*. In the context of the hymn, with the preceding *tr̥meśu*, this could be another place where snakes live, perhaps the name of a tree. The Orissa manuscript reading *tripuṣi* could also be related to *tr̥pu* ‘lead’ and also to *pus* ‘cat’ in Muṇḍa, both of which are considered inauspicious.

7. 7a An. Rare cadence – ∪ – x.

nākula: ‘belonging to *nakula*.’ *nakula* is dentified as an ichneumon or mongoose. Ichneumon is the common name for several small carnivores of the family *Viverridae*. The true mongoose constitute genus *Herpestes*, which is found in Africa and Asia. The genus contains about 10 species including the ichneumon (*H. ichneumon*) of Africa and Southern Europe, and the Indian, or gray mongoose (*H. edwardsi* also known as *Ichneumon edwardsi*). The mongoose is known for attacking and killing the largest and most poisonous snakes by an agile avoidance of their strikes. They kill snakes by darting at their head and cracking the skull with a powerful bite. This is already known to the author of ŚŚ 6.139.5 *yáthā nakulō vichídyā sám dadhāty áhim púnah* ‘As a mongoose, having cut apart (the snake),

again puts together the snake.' See Prater (1965: 96-105) and <http://www.mv.com/ipusers/engel/Mongoose/Bottom.html>.

bheṣaja: The mongoose, including the Indian variety – our *nākula* – is not immune to the venom of snakes. However, they have a high resistance to the venom, being able to withstand several bites before dying from the effects of the poison. However, it is said in parts of South Asia, that a mongoose when bitten, eats a root or herb that counteracts the effects of the venom. In India, this root is known as *mangus wail*. MW list *nākulī* as "the ichneumon plant (supposed to furnish the ichneumon with an antidote when bitten by a snake)." See Prater (1964: 96-105).

Cf. ŚŚ 10.4.9. ŚŚ has *vṛścika*. It is possible to confuse -śca- and -ksa- in copying from *G in Early Nāgarī to *D and *B, respectively. However, *vṛścika* 'stinger' does not make much sense here with *māṁścatur*.

⁺**māṁścatur:** This word is isolated in the RV. It is attested 3 times – 7.44.3, 9.97.52 and 9.97.54 – none of which, according to Mayrhofer, shed any light on the meaning of the word. This is probably a local name for a tree. A close example is *maskara* 'bamboo'. Perhaps this tree is connected with remedy, which provides immunity from snake venom. Cf. *bheṣaja*, above.

8. Cf. ŚŚ 10.4.10 *aghāsvásyedám bheṣajám ubháyoḥ svajásya ca*. 'This is the remedy of the ill-horse and of both (you) and the constrictor.'

The reading *sítasya* in all Orissa manuscripts is due to the confusion of ta and ja in Oriya script.

svaja: May refer here to a distinct aspect of snakes rather than to a ‘snake, viper’ in general. The term seems to be derived from */svaj*‘to embrace, umarmen.’ This suggests the general ability snakes to kill their prey by constrict their prey until they suffocate. This is part of the prey capturing behavior of most snakes – both venomous and non-venomous snakes. The strength of snakes’ venoms varies. Some types of venom only slow down prey while others kill it. *Svaja* fits well with other terms used in this hymn, as well as ŚS 10.4, that highlight particular aspects of snakes or particular types of snakes. *Svaja* can still be a venomous constrictor or a constrictor-looking snake (as in the case of Russell’s Viper the aim of the stanza is to make the venom of the *pr̥daku* (or the black snake, perhaps a cobra) sapless. Cf. Zug (1993: 123-139) and Ernst and Zug (1996: 22-23).

Cf. ŚS 10.4 for more names of snakes (or aspects of snakes). These very specific terms for snakes must reflect Vedic people’s thorough knowledge of the behavior of snakes. Cf. n. 4 above.

9. Cf. ŚS 10.4.7.

10. Cf. ŚS 4.15.8.

10a An. Uncommon cadence --- x.

Pāda a harkens back to stanza 5 regarding the wind blowing in the different directions. The ability of the horse and the *nākula* to diminish the power of the snake’s venom (to make it sapless) seems to be connected with the idea of scattering something (a substitute that has been identified with *rasa*) in different directions and thus weakening it.

1. Cf. ŚŚ 10.4.1.

lihna: This term is not found in our lexicons. If it is to be related to *vīlh* ‘to lick’, one could think of the flat part of the felloe/wheel, which ‘licks’ the ground as its moves forward crushing the snakes on its path. This part of the wheel could also be said to move quickly. The closest attestable form would be *līdha*. It is unlikely that *-hna* and *-dha* could have been confused at any stage of the written transmission. One could also think of *cihna* ‘mark, spot, sign,’ especially on the chariot box (MHB +), but I don’t think this helps the sense of the passage since *tēna* already refers to the chariot, and it is not really the chariot-box that crushes the snakes as it drives quickly over them.

īyate: ‘to drive quickly, schnell fahren.’ See Hoffmann (1968b: 211).

ahinām_anah: The manuscripts have preserved the syllabically restored form *ahināmanah*. In -an, -man, and -van stems, following a heavy syllable, -a- must be restored when it precedes a case ending beginning with a vowel. See Arnold (1905: 88).

2. **dasyu:** This term is used in the RV as one of the most general ethnic and social categories. Usually, the opposition is made between *arya* and non-*arya*, the latter being described as *dāsa-s*, *dasyu-s* and *pani-s*. Old Persian inscriptions speak of the Daha, a people of a province next to the Sakas. Greek and Latin sources also tell of Daha in Murghab (Margiana). The Parnoi, formerly a tribe of the Daha, lived along the Okhos river (modern Tedjen in Margiana). Parpola (1995, 1997) has suggested that these ‘foreigners’ may have been the first Indo-Aryan speakers who

later appear in the RV as the opponents of the R̄gvedic Aryans. He distinguishes waves in Indo-Aryans: (1) the Dāsas, from the Volga steppes at the end of the 3rd millennium BC; (2) The Sauma Aryans, possibly representatives of early Andronovo culture, may have conquered the Dāsas of Bactria and Margiana around 1800 BC. The culture resulting from the merging of Dāsas and Sauma, then split. One group moved westwards toward Northern Syria (become the eventual Mittanni rulers), while another group moved east toward Swat. These were the proto-R̄gvedic and proto-Dardic cultures. Older theories about invading armies of Indo-Aryans have given way to new, seemingly more probably explanations that focus on the gradual acculturation of Indo-Aryans and pre-existing cultures. Cf. Allchin (1995) and Bronkhorst and Deshpande (1999).

Vṛtra: In the RV, *vṛtra* is associated both with the resistance and enclosure of the waters that holds back the water necessary for life, as well as the dragon-demon who is killed by Indra. Already in RV 1.32.7, Vṛtra is described as *apād ahasto* ‘without hands, without feet’. By the time of the AV, and certainly by the time of the present hymn, Vṛtra as the great *ahi* ‘snake’ has emerged. In 13.4.2 above, the connection between Vṛtra and *ahi* as snake is clear, as well as the image of Vṛtra as the progenitor of all snakes. Cf. Macdonell (1897).

parābhināḥ: The expected form is *parābhīnat*. Normally, the secondary 2nd sg. (-s) and 3rd sg. (-t) endings are regularly dropped when the root or stem ends in a consonant. However, there are instances where the final root or stem consonant is dropped instead, as for example AV 3.6.3 *abhanas* < **abha-na-k-s*. Macdonell

(1910: 61) quotes also the following: *ayās* < *a-yāj-s* in addition to *ayāt*, *srās* (AV) < *a-srāj-s*, and *asrat* (VS) < *a-sras-t*. Macdonell, following Whitney (1889: 509), notes that this is to normalize the terminations of the 2nd sg. in -s and 3rd sg. in -t. A similar process was also carried out in the Aorist-stem, i.e. 2nd sg. *agan* < *a-gam-s and 3rd sg. *agan* < *a-gam-t. See Macdonell (1910: 366-67).

3. 3c An. Rare cadence – ∪ – x. The resulting cadence is rare, regardless which vowels are restored. Restoring *paidvo* produces a rare cadence. Restoring *asvo*, which is not common in the RV, produces a similarly rare cadence ∪ ∪ – x.

4. 4a An. Rare cadence – ∪ – x.

raju<ṣ> ṣma datvatī: This old image of the snake as rope, in this case as a toothed rope or as a biting rope (ŚŚ 4.3.2, PS 2.8.2), was made famous by Śaṅkara in his commentary to the Vedānta Sūtras. In his discussion of *ādhyasā* ‘superimposition’, he discusses the image of the rope on the road that is mistaken for a snake. Cf. Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya 2.1-9.

5. 5d An. Rare opening – ∪ ∪ x.

bhavat: A properly formed injunctive from the present-stem. Hoffmann (1964: 150) notes “*bhavat* AV 10.8.22 (= AVP 16.102.9), 14.2.24 (= AVP 17.9.6) ist (fehlerhafter) Konjunktiv, entweder für *bhuvat* oder für *bhavāt*. *bhavan* AV 20.130.19 an ganz dunkler Stelle.” It seems unnecessary here to correct the text according to ‘proper Vedic grammar’ to reflect either an injunctive form or subjunctive. This type of pseudo-subjunctive reflects a peculiarity of AV tradition. Cf. also Oldenberg (1912) s.v. RV 9.59.4.

The emendation ‘*vidhavā*’ greatly improves the meter, as well as the sense of the stanza. It is also possible to read *na indraṇī* ‘*vidhavā abhavat*. However, I think the exhortative sense of the injunctive fits better with the surrounding present indicative context.

One is reminded of ṚV 10.86 and the exchange between Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapi, in particular ṚV 10.86.11: *indrāṇīm āsū náriṣu subhágām ahám aśravam / nahy àsyā aparám̄ caná jarásā márate pátir viśvasmād índra úttarah* ‘Indrāṇī among women (has) a good share, I have heard. For not in her future, not even by old age will (her) husband die. Above all (is) Indra.’ ṚV 10.86 is a typical *samvāda* ‘dialogue’ hymn, which, according to Witzel (1997b: 390), “is an overt and explicit challenge to both Indra and his wife Indrāṇī, leveled at them by Vṛṣākapāyī and her husband Vṛṣākāpi (‘bull monkey’), who has traditionally been understood as a male ape assaulting and maligning Indrāṇī.” The hymn has also been treated by Jamison (1996: 75-88) “as a mock-Aśvamedha: the elements of its “plot” can be correlated with portions of the ritual...In this interpretation Indra fills the role of king and Sacrificer, Indrāṇī of the Mahisī, and Vṛṣākapi of the horse/victim.” Cf. Doniger (1982: 257-264)

Our PS verse seems to speak of Indra’s (*tvām*) immortality and, thus, his immunity to the venom of the snake. The statement seems to be a type of formulaic truth-statement of Indrāṇī’s potential widowhood, the subject of the verse. Two truths are stated before the main subject of the verse: the agelessness of waters and *amṛta*. These two truths – the agelessness of the waters and of *amṛta* – are stated

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before the subject of the verse in pāda b. These two factual statements are followed, in pāda cd, by yet another factual statement regarding Indra's immunity to the snake's venom. This statement is certainly not a classical *satyakriyā*, as discussed recently by Thompson (1998), but falls within a wider category of truth-spells. In our stanza, the declaratory aspect (a and cd) and the exhortative aspect are present. However, it lacks the *satyakriyā*'s explicit declaration (*tena satyena*), which expresses the performative power of the very declaration.

6 Cf. ŚŚ 19.39.2.

6a An. Uncommon cadence – ∪ ∪ x. 6b An. Uncommon opening x – ∪ ∪.

6c An. Rare cadence – ∪ – x.

- 1 ṚV 1.94.1: *imám stómam árhate jātávedase rátham iva sám mahemā manīṣáyā / bhadrá hí nah prámatir asya samsád; ágne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayám táva.*

Jātavedas: This epithet is applied over 120 times in the RV exclusively to Agni. The meaning of this epithet has been much discussed in the secondary literature. RV 6.15.13ab provides the clearest definition: *agnír hotā gr̄hápatih sá rājā viśvā veda jánimā jātávedah* ‘Agni (is) the Hotṛ. (He is) the lord of the house. He is the king. Jātaveda knows all generations.’

The image of the chariot was used, especially in the RV, as a poetic device. The chariot often represents the hymns of the poets, as well as the ritual. There are many examples in the RV where the chariot is used metaphorically. RV 8.3.15 *úd utyé mádhumattamā gíra stómāsa īrate / satrājito dhanasá áksitotayo vājayánto ráthā iva* ‘These songs which possess the most sweetness, these hymns rise like ever-conquering, wealth-winning chariots which, racing, grant permanent help.’ Chariots as well as poems are said to be well-crafted, well-fashioned (*vītakṣ*), for example RV 7.34.1. The image of the poet who yokes the horses to the chariot is also found in Yasna 50.7. In the RV, and even more so in later brāhmaṇa texts, the image of the chariot is used as a metaphor for the ritual, for example, see JB 1.135, KS 34.17:47.16. See Sparreboom (1985: 13-37).

sám mahema: Oldenberg (1909-12: 92) following Böhtlingk-Roth wants to read *sam ahema* ‘to send forth’ < *sam* √*hi*: “nicht unbedingt sicher (vgl. VII, 2,3), aber, insonderheit im Hinblick auf *rátham iva*, recht wahrscheinlich.” However, this

seems unwarranted given the metaphorical use of chariot to represent speech and, more specifically, the hymn of praise or the ritual as whole. This has been pointed out by Geldner in his *Der Rigveda*, who translates ‘to perfect, to improve (upon), vervollkommen.’ Mayrhofer, following Gotō (1987: 242-284), translates ‘to bring about, *zustande bringen*’ for the active and ‘to be able to, *imstande sein*’ for the middle. Both interpretation of *sam mahema* ‘to give’ and ‘bring about’ fit into the context. See Mayrhofer *EWA* sub MAH. Cf. Jamison (1984: 80-81).

sakhye: In the RV, this term refers to not simply to a friendship, but to a comradeship in battle. This relationship is especially visible in the relationship of Indra and Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is frequently allied with Indra in battle against Vṛtra with term *sakhi*; for example, RV 1.22.19, 1.154.11,

2 RV 1.94.2: *yásmai tvám áyájase sá sādhat; anarvá k̄seti dádhate suví̄yam / sá tūtāva naímam aśnot; amhatír ágne sakhyé mā riśāmā vayám táva.*

amhati: Gonda (1968) has defined the term *amhas* as ‘distress caused by narrowness’. The related term *amhu* in RV 2.26.4cd *urusyátīm ámhaso ráksatī riso amhós cid asmā urucákri ádbhutah* ‘He delivers him from the distress of narrowness. He protects from the injurer. Indeed, for him, he (Br̄haspati) is the marvelous maker of wide (space) from narrowness,’ expresses the serious character of the distress inherent in the term. In AV, according to Gonda, the meaning of *amhas* is simply a general manifestation of evil against which one tries to protect oneself by means of amulets.

3 RV 1.94.4: *bhárāmedhmáṁ kṛṇávāmā havíṁsi te citáyantah párvanā-parvanā vayám / jīvātave pratarám sādhayaā dhíyo ágne sakhyé mā riśamā vayám táva.*

Citayantah: Generally, this verb has the intransitive value ‘appear’. The intransitive/transitive value, according to Jamison (1993: 57, 74) “is the result of the falling together functionally with *cetati* ‘to take note of’.

4 RV 1.94.3: *śakéma tvā samídham sādháyaā dhíyas t,ve devá haví adant; áhutam / tvám ādityáṁ á vaha tán hí uśmás; ágne sakhyé mā riśamā vayám táva.*

As is well known the gods are rather different from humans and thus do not eat the same way. The gods smell the offering that is transubstantiated by the fire into *asu* and *medha*, as we are told in KĀ 2.43. See PS 14.3-4 below.

5 RV 1.94.6: *tvám adhvaryúr utá hótasi purv,yáḥ praśāstā pótā janúsā puróhitah / víśvā vidváṁ ártvijyā dhīra pusyas; ágne sakhyé mā riśamā vayám táva.*

These priests belong to the system enumerated in RV 2.1.2: *távagne hotrám táva potráṁ itvíyam táva nestrám t,vám agníd itáyáḥ / tava praśāstrám t,vám adhvaryasi brahmá cásí grhápatiś ca no dáme*. The *hotr*, ‘the offerer of the oblation,’ who belongs to RV, recites the mantras used to invoke the deity. The *potr*, ‘the purifier’ recites the *yajyā-s* at the morning pressing. The *nestr*, ‘the leader’ assists the *hotr*, and has the special responsibility of leading the wife of the sacrificer as well as preparing *surā* (in the Vājapeya). The *agnidhra* is the priest who kindles the sacred fire. The *praśāstr*, ‘director’, also known as the Maitrāvaraṇa priest, is another assistant of the *hotr*. The *adhvaryu*, the priest of the YV, performs the

sacrifice on behalf of the sponsor of the sacrifice (*yajamāna*). The *brahman*, the priest of the AV, is required to know all four Vedas to fulfill his role as overseer of the sacrifice; it is he who has the knowledge of *prāyascitta*-rites necessary to correct mistakes made during the sacrifice.

Although the *purohita* is not an officiating priest (*ṛtvij*), it seems that already in the late portions of the RV the role of the king's, or rather petty chieftain's, house-priest has been integrated into the priestly fold. Geldner (*Vedische Studien II*) already suggested that this very passage in the RV pointed to such a situation. Oldenberg (1897) disagrees. Taking into account the crucial role played by Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in the 10 King's Battle, Geldner's conclusion seems warranted. The inclusion of this particular hymn in the collection underline the Atharvavedins' effort to make their collection Rgvedic-like. Analogizing of the *hotṛ* to the *purohita* simultaneously analogizes of the *hotṛ* to the *brahman* priest, and thus stressing the importance of the AV Brahman-priest as being "like a *hotṛ*." This fits with the general feeling expressed in later AV texts regarding the importance of the Brahman in the ritual as the priest who knows all Vedas. Interestingly enough, this hymn, which is not found in the Śaunaka collection, again seems to stress the concern of the Paippalādins with gaining access to the office of the *purohita*.

6 RV 1.94.5: *viśāṁ gopā asya caranti jantávo dvipác ca yád utá cátuspad
aktiúbhiḥ / citráḥ praketá usáso maháṁ as; ágne sakhyé mā riśāmā vayám táva.*

citrāḥ: All Orissa manuscripts have dropped the expected h. If the archetype had h/h/h, we would expect both branches of the tradition to have

represented these sounds. The Orissa branch normally uses only ḥ. What has happened in this instance? It seems that already by the time of *B, scribes no longer understood the sign for ḥ, and understood it as a correction mark (something being blotted out or scratched out, especially if *B was a palm-leaf manuscript). Although not conclusive, this example seems to point in direction of *G having had ḥ/ḥ/ḥ which were misinterpreted or misunderstood when copying of *D and *G. See above Chap. IVB.

diśām: Although the confusion of d and v is possible in Oriya, this mistake is rather unlikely in Śāradā and Early Nāgarī. Paleography cannot account for this reading in both traditions. Therefore, we must look at this variant as a significant change that reflects the outlook of PS. The “protector of the directions” may reflect the influence of the new Kuru Hegemony. The texts no longer reflects the concerns for the members of relatively small tribes (as does the RV), but rather an outlook that reflects the new expansionist vision of the hegemony and its aspiring *purohita-s*. *diś* ‘directions’ reflect not only the expansion of the kingdom, particularly eastward, but may also the directions in which the horse of the Aśvamedha ritual roams. The horse must be guarded during its travels in all directions.

The pair *dvipād* and *catuspād* is derived from an IE “merism” that refers to moveable wealth, and means ‘useful men’ (slaves) and ‘cattle’, respectively. See Watkins (1995: 44-46).

7 RV 1.94.7: *yó viśvātah suprātīkah sadṛīnī ási dūré cit sán talid iváti rocase/ rátryāś cid ándho áti deva paśyas; ágne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayám táva.*

8 ṚV 1.94.8: *púrvo devā bhavatu sunvato rátho smākam sámsō abh; astu dūdhyaḥ / tād ájānīta utá puṣyata vácō ágne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayám tāva.*

Púrvo devā bhavatu sunvato rathah: A reference to the chariot race that is a central motif of the classical Rājasūya, Aśvamedha and Vājapeya. Cf. Sparreboom (1985). This hymn aims to secure victory, in this instance, in the chariot race, for the *yajamāna*. An echo of an earlier agonistic ritual is found in this verse, which would be useful in representing Heesterman's pre-classical ritual whose locus must be the ṚV. As noted above, in ṚV *ratha* is often identified with *yajñā* as well as poem..

9 ṚV 1.94.9: *vadhaír duḥsámsāṁ ápa dūdhyo jahi dūré vā yé ánti vā kē cid atrīnah / áthā yajñāya gṛṇaté sugáṁ kṛdh; ágne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayám tāva.*

The weapons at the disposal of the priest, particularly the *purohita*, to strike down the 'magic' of other priests are the spells of the Atharvaveda. This type of magic can already be seen in certain hymns of the ṚV which highlight the antagonism between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha that is central to the Battle of the 10 kings in the ṚV. Paippalāda collection, these types of charms aimed against the king's enemies are found especially in the collection of PS 10, which focuses on royal consecration. PS 10.1 *kaṇvā yā gardabhīva nibhasat sūkarīva / tasyai prati pra vartay taptam aśmānam āsanī* 'the Kanvā sorceress who is like a she-ass, devours like a sow. Lead the consuming heat and stone to (her) mouth,' for example, deals with magic that will send or rather keep away, the evil sorcerer *kanvā*. Similarly PS 10.2.4, which focuses on the desire to beat the enemy, which

of course is a rival king or chieftain, usually a cousin: *bhrātr̥vyas ca sapatnaś (saputras) ca yas tvāmitro (śattro) jighāṁsati / śriyam tvam sarvesāṁ tesāṁ ādāyogro vi dhāraya* '(Your) cousin and your rival, who is not your friend, desires to kill you. You, having taken the prosperity of all of them, strong one, uphold (the realm).'

Atrin: This term seems to be related to the proper name Atri, a R̥gvedic clan, in a similar manner that *kaṇva* (<*kṛ̥nva*) 'sorcerer' is related to the proper name Kāṇva, a R̥gvedic clan. Hoffmann (1940: 148-61) has discussed the developments, both linguistic and contextual, that have led to the abrupt change in meaning of the *kaṇva*. To summarize, *kaṇva* derives from a reconstructed form **kṛ̥nva*, which is not attested in RV, but can be seen in Old Persian *kruvaka-*. The reconstructed form, however, is found in PS as hypercorrect form (See Introduction). The name Kāṇva is a present-stem formation from *₁kr̥* 'to make'. Originally, *kaṇva* had several meanings in the RV: (1) a mythological figure, (2) the ancient progenitor of the clan, and (3) a member of the Kāṇva clan. In AV, *kaṇva* gains new meanings: 1. dead, taub, deaf; 2. praising, a praiser; 3. one who is to be praised. The association of *kaṇva* with 'to inflict, antun, to bewitch, verhexen' inherent in the IE root **₁k̥er*.

A similar analysis is applicable to the pair *attrin: atri*. -tt- / -t- before -r are indistinguishable in pronunciation, cf. P 8.4.46. Like Kāṇva, Atri is one of the protégés of the Aśvins, cf. RV 1.118.7, as well as the name of family of poets. Witzel (1997a: 292 n. 155) points out that the Atri poets are excluded from the post

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R̥gvedic *brahmán* poetical activity continued in the AV and that even later on the Atri's are despised. In the AV hymns themselves, Atri is still treated as a great hero. *atrīn* appears in AV, as well as the RV, with the sense of 'eater, devourer'. Jamison (1991: 282-83) notes the possible synchronic relationship that would be apparent to Vedic speakers between the evil beings, *atrīn*, and the hero Atri. She notes, however, that the negative 'devourer' characteristic is absent in the mythology of Atri.

10 RV 1.94.10: *yád áyukthā aruṣā́ róhitā ráthe vā́tajūtā vṛṣabhbásyeva te rávah / ād invasi vaníno dhūmáketunā ágne sakhyé mā́ riṣāmā vayám táva..*

1. RV 1.94.11: *ádha svanád utá bibhyuḥ patatríño drapsá yát te yavasádo v;
ásthiran / sugám tát te tāvakébhyo ráthebh;yo agne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayám táva.*
2. RV 1.94.12: *ayám mitrásya várunasya dháyase ,vayatám marútám hélo
ádbhutah / mṛīlā sú no bhút, eṣām mánah púnar agne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayám
táva.*

***dhāyase:** The manuscript readings of dhāyasya are easily explained as having been influenced by two preceding G. s. -asya.

avayatám: Narten (1964: 209-212) discusses *výā* 'to go along, dahinziehen' and notes the semantic split of this verb: "yā 'dahinziehen' aktiv, yā 'bitten' aktive und medial." Mayrhofer *EWA* lists two roots yā as above. Cf. also Werba (1997) s.v.

Oldenberg (1897: 113) suggests another possible reading for this verse, taking all the genitives together: 'He mysteriously turns away the anger of Mitra, Varuṇa and of the Maruts in order that (men) may get refreshing drink.'

3. RV 1.94.13: *devó devánām asi mitró ádbhuto vásur vásūnām asi cárur
adhvaré / sárm̄an syáma táva sapráthastame agne sakhyé mā riṣāmā vayám táva.*

The misreading in the Orissa manuscripts can be explained as copying mistake from *G > *B. Early forms of -va- and -ma- as well as -ba- (which is not used in most eastern scripts, [ba] ~ [va]) are easily confused. After reading *tama* for *tava*, the scribe(s) must have re-interpreted the -sa- of the following word as part of *tamas*. Cf. Bühler (1896).

Agni is frequently identified with Mitra and Varuṇa. For example RV

2.1.4ab *tvám agne rāja váruno dhṛtárvatas tuvám mitró bhavasi dasmá īd̄yah* ‘O Agni, you become King Varuṇa, whose authority is fixed. You become Mitra, extraordinary, to be praised.’ Cf. RV 3.5.4 and 7.12.3. The kindling of the fire is identified with Mitra: RV 5.3.1b *tuvám mitró bhavasi yát sámiddhaḥ* ‘You (= Agni) become Mitra when kindled.’ In AV 13.3.13, Agni is identified with the rising sun in the morning as Mitra, and with Varuṇa in the evening: *sá várūnah sāyám ágnir bhavati sá mitró bhavati prātár udyān* ‘That one, Agni, becomes Varuṇa in the evening. That one becomes Mitra in the morning, rising.’ This identification is similar to the ideas expressed in the Agnihotra ritual in which the fire is identified with the sun and thus twice daily offerings to the fire are identified with sunrise and sunset. Especially important is the evening offering in the Agnihotra by which the fire, and thus the sun, is protected at night during the sun’s dangerous trip through the underworld. See Bodewitz (1976)

4 RV 1.94.14: *tát te bhadram yát sámiddhaḥ suvé dámē sómāhuto járase mṝlayáttamah / dádhāsi rátnam drávinam ca dásúṣe agne sakhyé mā riśamā vayám táva.*

5 RV 1.94.15: *yásmai tuvám sudravino dádāśo ,nāgastvám adite sarvátatā / yám bhadréṇa sávasā codáyāsi prajávatā rádhasā té siyāma.*

Oldenberg (1897: 113) takes *aditi*, which can be either m. or f., as an epithet of Agni “with the evident allusion to the goddess Aditi, as granting freedom from bonds.” Cf. RV 4.1.20, 7.9.3, 9.19.14, and 10.92.14.

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6 ṚV 1.94.16: *sá tvám agne saubhagatvásya vidvān̄ asmākam̄ áyuh̄ prá tirehá deva / tán no mitró várūṇo mámahantām̄ áditiḥ síndhuḥ pṛthiví utá dyaúḥ.*

This verse is accented in Kā only.

This is the normal refrain of hymns composed by Kutsa Āṅgirasa. The Kutsa Āṅgirasa collection in the RV opens with RV 1.91 and ends with 1.115.

1. 1d Tr. Uncommon opening x u u -.

Parpola (1985: 39-40) identifies Varuṇa's "cloth of ghee" and other references to "fatty garments" with rain and rain clouds. The texts also speak of Varuṇa's "golden garment" (RV 1.125.13), which Bergaigne identifies with the waters that are rendered golden by the sun. Parpola suggests that this was not the only model for Varuṇa's shining dress. He links the golden garment to the night sky, which is speckled with stars, which are Varuṇa's spies.

RV 5.63.6 identifies the garment of the Maruts as rain clouds.

2. The 'common garment' brings to mind the idea expressed in the Upaniṣads regarding 'that upon which all this is woven, warp and woof' in the famous series of question by Gargī in BAU 3.6. The underlying idea is that of a garment on which all the elements of the universe – water, air, intermediate space, sun, moon, etc. – are woven upon. The garment is expressed by the term *otra* and *prota*, which refer to the back and forth movement of the shuttle in front of the weaver. Cf. Rau (1970).

5. The use of *pṛchāmī tvā* marks a shift in style. As noted in the introduction this hymn, *pṛchami tvā* highlights the agonistic feature of *brahmodya-s*.

On constructions of the type *satyasya satyam* 'quintessential truth,' see Oertel (1937).

6. 6ab has three extra syllables. *ya asan* at the end of b seems superfluous. If these two word were to be taken out and the pāda break restored after *nāmāni* (as

indicated in Mā_{1c}), we would have three triṣṭubh pāda-s, Virāj meter according to the RV Prātiśākhya.

sarpāṇāṁ devajanā: In ŚŚ 3.27 = PS 3.11, particular snakes are associated with specific directions and specific deities:

East	Agni	Asita
South	Indra	Tiraścirāji
West	Varuṇa	Pṛdāku
North	Soma	Kalmāśigrīva

The connection of snakes with *āditya-s/deva-s* can also be seen in the list of the performers of the *sarpasattra* in PB 25 by mean of which snakes (*sarpa*) reach heaven and become *deva-s*. The same list, more or less, appears again in the *sarpasattra* of Janamejaya in the opening of the Mahābhārāta. Such a link establishes an interesting genealogy from the distant past to the present (as we are all descendants of the Kuru-s in some way): Nāga-s ↔ Āditya-s/Deva-s → Kaurava-s (semi-divine) → present generations. See PS 13.8.1n below. Cf. Vogel (1926), Minkowski (1981, 1991). On *pṛdaku*, see PS 13.3.4n above.

brūhi nas tat: Along with *pṛchāmī tvā*, this phrase further highlights the overtly aggressive nature of this *brahmodya*, which is maintained throughout the rest of the hymn.

7. 7c An. Uncommon opening x u u -.

Rohita: In AV 13, *rohita* represents the sun-god as the creator-preserved of the universe as well as an earthly king. Witzel (1997a) has noted that that *rohita* is particularly connected to the victorious aspect of the ‘Red sun/dawn’ as can be seen by the constant connection with *varcas* (cf. PS 14.8.4n) and *rāstra* (cf. PS 14.2.3n).

Cf. PS 13.1.2n on *suvarna*. The inclusion of such a collection of hymns in AV points to the important relationship between Atharvavedin priests and the ruling clan – the Kurus, at the time of the redaction of the AV saṁhitā-s.

The repetition of the sound -roh in pāda ab in association with the verb *vruh* ‘to climb,’ seem to place the emphasis on Rohita as the sun rather than as the earthly king.

8. 8d An. Uncommon opening x u u -.

This verse is an interesting riddle referring to RV 10.90.4: *tripād ūrdhvá úd ait pūrusaḥ pādo syehābhavat puñah / tāto vīśvari v; akrāmat sāśanānaśané abhí* ‘Three-quarters of (the sacrificial) man went upward. One quarter of him was here still. From that, he strode widely in all directions towards what eats and does not eat.’ The fourth part which steps beyond his greatness, the three quarters that went upwards must have been offered by the Sādhyas and seers in RV 10.90.7. The author of the hymn seems to have conflated the motif of the four quarters (of *puruṣa*) with *vikram* ‘wide-striding’ motif, which is connected with Viṣṇu, already in the RV. His first two steps are said to be visible to humans, but his third step is beyond even the flight of birds. See RV 1.155.5, 7.99.2.Cf. Thompson (1995).

What do the poets protect? For their employer, they protect the prosperity of the kingdom by means of the correct performance of ritual. For themselves, poets, they protect sacred speech (Vāc, three quarters of whom is also said to be beyond this word).

The use of *sāksāt* ‘in front of my eyes’ is interesting in the context of a *brahmodya* where the answers as supposed to be hidden.

tāni *vettha* highlights the over challenge expressed in this hymn.

9. The verse shows a shift in the typical *brahmodya*-pattern from an interrogative pronoun sequence to a relative pronoun sequence, for example RV 1.164.49. On the variations in *brahmodya-s*, see Thompson (1995).

The stanza ends with the most direct and aggressive challenge in the *brahmodya*-sequence thus far with the phrase *tam nah brūhi yadi tam pravettha* ‘Tell us that if you know that!’

In AV, Indra is associated with agriculture. ŚŚ 6.30.1 describes the gods growing barley along the Sarasvatī on behalf of Manu. Indra is called *sīrapati* ‘lord of the plow’ and the Maruts are referred to as *kīnāśa* ‘cultivators of the soil’. This verse refers to the association, especially in the ritual texts, of the Maruts with Indra. The Maruts, regarded as *devānām viśāḥ* ‘people of the gods’, have the function of the Vaiśya-s in the heavenly counterpart of the earthly *varṇa* system: *brāhmaṇa-s* (priest~Agni), *kṣatriya-s* (warrior~Indra) and *vaiśya-s* (people~Maruts). On one level, this reflects the very real link between kingly power and popular support. This is also reflected in ritual, which aim at securing the support of the *viś-*Maruts. In the mythological realm, of course, the Maruts are closely connected with Indra, often referred to as *sakhi-s* ‘comrades (in battle)’ of Indra. They help Indra in several dragon-slaying acts in the RV including the slaying of Vṛtra and the fight with Śambara. See Macdonell (1897), and Hillebrandt (1880).

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.7
Notes

*śisāti: This reconstruction retains many of the aspects which the manuscripts have preserved. All manuscripts agree that the first syllable is śi and second is [s]i, where s is ś/s/s. The uncertainty about ś/s/s is due to the typical North Indian confusion of sibilants. The -t- in Pāc and Gu_c is due to the confusion between -t- and -ś- in writing, which is prominent in modern Oriya script. The reading produces an opening with low frequency, 437 x in the RV. None of the other possible reconstructions – śusāva, śasāu – produces a better meter or sense.

10. Pāda see is an approximate quotation of RV 1.164.34b.

1. Cf. ŚŚ 1.2.8

1e Tr. Rare cadence $\cup \text{---} x$.

A slight variation on the formulaic pattern: *prchāmi tvā* follows rather than precedes the challenge formula, *tān nah prabruhi yadi tān pravettha*. It may be that when the two formulas share the context, *prchāmi tvā* is superseded by the stronger, more overtly challenging formula.

Snakes, like birds, stand in a special relationship to human beings. This is not too difficult to imagine, as birds, snakes, and humans are twice born (*dvija*), and a family relationship among the three is already mentioned in ŚB 2.5.1.1. PB 25.15 speaks about how the snakes were able to gain a firm support (heaven) and vanquish death by means of the ritual: *etena vai sarpā eṣu lokeṣu pratyatīsthann eṣu lokeṣu pratiṣṭhanti ya etad upayanti* ‘Indeed, by means of that (sacrifice), the snakes gained firm support in these worlds. (Those) who undertake that (sacrifice) gain firm support in these worlds.’ The text identifies the Āditya-s with the snakes: *etena vai sarpā apa mṛtyum jayann apa mṛtyum jayanti ya etad upayanti. tasmāt te hitvā jūrṇām tvacam atisarpanty apa hi te mṛtyum jayan, sarpā vā ādityā* ‘Indeed, by means of that (sacrifice), the snakes conquered death. Those who perform this (sacrifice) conquer death. Therefore, having left their skin, they creep over, for they conquered death. Indeed, the Āditya-s are the snakes.’ Thus, snakes are in a god-like relationship to humans since humanity originates from Vivasant, one of the Ādityas. Later Buddhist and Hindu texts such as the Mahābhārata and Nīlamāta Purāṇa of Kashmir speak of the blissful netherworld (*pātāla*) where snakes live. Several lineages in these and other text show the close relationship of humans and

snakes; one need only recall the names of snakes at Janamejaya's sacrifice among which was included Dhṛtarāṣṭra. A similar picture is offered by the Gser Lin saga of Tibet where the semi-divine hero of the epic is born from a *nāgini*. See Vogel (1926), Minkowski (1989, 1991). See PS 13.7.2n above.

2 2c An. Uncommon cadence -- ∪ x.

This verse reminds one immediately of the upaniśadic discussions about the nature of *ātman*. BAU 5.5.2: *ya eṣa etasmin maṇḍale puruṣo yaś cāyam daksīne ḱsan purusas tāv etāvanyo'nyasmin pratitiṣṭhitau* 'That one who is the man in that circle, and the man in this right eye, those two are established on one another.' An alternate reading: 'the one who is asleep goes together with sleep, [who] is grasping the limbs.'

**svid eti*: Thompson (1997) has discussed the use of *svid* in the context of riddling-*brahmodya* patterns. He concludes that although not a definite marker of *brahmodya-s*, it can be considered an emphatic marker. Furthermore, *svid*, in the context of *brahmodya-s*, seems to strengthen the accompanying interrogative pronoun and thus mark the concluding member of an interrogation sequence. In our hymn, where *kṛvā svid* occurs in pāda 2d, it would seem that *svid* acts as a marker for the end of a question – a single question in this case – where an simple answer could be given. That answer, as Thompson, points out could begin with the correlative answer element *sá* (although, of course, in our hymn we are not given answers). Interestingly, PS 13.2–4 are also stanzas that contain a series of statements followed by a question in pāda c – all of which could begin with a form

of *sá* as the correlative answer element. In PS 13.7, as well as PS 13.8.1, there are a series of questions contained in each stanza.

In the Orissa manuscripts, the variant °da° and °va° can be understood as a writing mistake in Oriya script, -va- ~ -da-. That mistake arose because *svid was interpreted as *savid. This tendency to insert a vowel in clusters -sr- and -sv- has already been noted by Witzel (1985b). Once the cluster was split, the confusion va ~ da can easily arise. PSK *svj* can be similarly explained. However, in the Kashmiri transmission of the error must go back already to *D, since -sv- and -sr- are nearly indistinguishable in Early Nāgarī – the only difference being that the -v- is represented by a small loop below s, whereas -r- is represented by a small hook opening to the right. If the loop of the -v is not completely closed, it can be easily mistaken for -r. Similarly, -de- and -je- could again be confused in Early Nāgarī, especially if the middle horizontal stroke of -j- is not clearly written.

3 3a An. Rare opening x u u u. 3b An. Uncommon opening x u u -. 3c An. Uncommon cadence --- x.

On honey, bees, and *amṛta*, see PS 14.1.6n above.

On *vrata*, see Brereton (1981: 78), who translates *vrata* as commandment or authority. I use the latter as to avoid any possible Judeo–Christian connotation of the ‘written commandments’ that might be expressed by the term.

4. 4d An. Uncommon cadence --- x. 4e Tr. Uncommon opening x u - -. Caesura falls after the 3rd syllable or after the 5th, within a compounded word. Caesura after the 5th produces an uncommon break – | u –.

5. 5d: If this pāda is counted as Jagatī, it produces a non-existent cadence – ∪ – – x. If counted as a hypersyllabic trisṭubh, cf. Arnold (1095: 197–8), also produces an uncommon cadence ∪ – – x.

The meter of several verses in this hymn (PS 14.7-8) becomes less strict toward the end of the hymn(s). Note the verse 13.7.7-8 as well PS 13.8.2–5. The increase in rare opening and cadences seems to be due to the influence of the following section, PS 14.9, which is in prose. In Kā, these three sections (13.7, 13.8 & 13.9) are all contained in a single hymn, PS 13.14. The mixture of metrical text and prose in this *brahmodya* type hymn seems to support, to some degree, Thompson assumption of “a broad range of coexisting *brahmodya* styles, ranging from a terse, rigid, metrical type to a less structured or prose type.” (Thompson 1997: 24). On a similar pattern of mixed meter, see Witzel (1997b: 398–400).

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 13.9
Notes

4. The two *kapāla*-s must be two halves of the shell of an egg, which became Heaven and Earth. Both half are simultaneously addressed as *svadhiṣṭhānā* and *svadhicarāṇā*. The order of address reveals that heaven is ‘one who has a good standing place’ while earth is ‘the one who is good to walk upon’, in the order of the compound *dyāvāpṛthivī*. Neither of these two descriptive terms for heaven and earth is found in the neither RV nor SS.
5. Creation of the wide world fits nicely with the idea expressed in RV 10.90.4 that from the quarter of *puruṣa* that remained spread out in all directions. Like RV 10.90 the sun was produced from *puruṣa*’s eye. This theme is connected to the theme of the quarters of *puruṣa* (or Vāc, which the poets protect) in PS 13.7.8.
6. On Virāj, see below, PS 14.5.8n.

¹ om̄ ² indro ³ bāhubhyām ⁴ abharac ⁵ cikitvān ⁶ apo ⁷ devīr ⁸ varuṇāya ⁹ prajānan ¹⁰ ¹¹ tam ādityā ¹² abhyaśiñcanta ¹³ sarve rājanam ¹⁴ ugram ¹⁵ bṛhate ¹⁶ raṇāya ¹⁷ tā na ¹⁸ āpo ¹⁹ rājasūyā avantu ²⁰ 1 ²¹	11-11 11-11 11
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¹ = PSK 14.1.1

² Mā_{1c}: om̄ srī kṛṣṇah śaraṇam; Gu_c: om.; Bh: omits om̄ but notes that all his manuscripts begin the kāṇḍa with either om̄ or śrī.

³ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: endro; Bh: endro

⁴ Kā: bāhumbhyāmm

⁵ Kā: abhiriś; Pa_c, Gu_c: abhara

⁶ Ma_{2c}: cikitvām

⁷ Kā: āpo

⁸ Kā: devī

⁹ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: varuṇāya

¹⁰ Kā: prajānman.

¹¹ Kā: om. |

¹² Kā: ādityā-

¹³ Kā: -abhyāśicyantu; Mā_{1c}: abhyaśiñcantu

¹⁴ Pa_c: rājanam

¹⁵ Pa_c: ugra

¹⁶ Kā: vṛhate

¹⁷ Kā: |

¹⁸ Kā: na-

¹⁹ Kā: -āpo

²⁰ Kā: vasantu

²¹ Kā: |

²²⁺ hirāṇyavarṇāś ²³ [+śucayah ²⁴ pāvaka ²⁵] yāsu +jātah ²⁶ kaśyapo ²⁷	11-11
yā agnim ²⁸ garbhāṁ dadhire suvarṇāś ²⁹ tā na +āpaś ³⁰ śam ³¹	
sīyonā ³² bhavantu 2	11-11
³³ yāśāṁ rājā varuṇo ³⁴ yati ³⁵ madhye satyānṛte ³⁶ avapaśyañ ³⁷	11-11
janānāṁ	
yā agnim ³⁸ garbhāṁ dadhire suvarṇāś ²⁹ tā na āpaś śam ³⁹ sīyonā	
bhavantu 3	11-11

²² = PSK 14.1.2 = PSK 1.25.1

²³ PS 14.2-5 = PS 1.25.1-4. Kā: om̄ hirāṇyavarṇā catasrah ṛ4 pathet; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: hirāṇyavarṇā iti catasrah; Gu_c: provides the text of PS 14.2-5.

²⁴ Bhattacharya notes no variant in Kā; Gu_c: sucayah

²⁵ Kā: pāvaka

²⁶ Gu_c: yāta; Vā: yātah

²⁷ Gu_c: kaśyopa

²⁸ Ja: 'gnim; Gu_c: agni

²⁹ Gu_c: suvarṇāś

³⁰ Gu_c: āpah; Vā nāpah

³¹ Kā: śam; Gu_c: saṁ; Ja, Ma, Vā: śyam

³² Gu_c: sīyonā

³³ = PSK 14.1.3 = PSK 1.25.2

³⁴ Gu_c: vaṇno

³⁵ Kā: yātu

³⁶ Gu_c: satyānṛtye

³⁷ Gu_c: abapaśyan; Ja, Vā: avapaśyam

³⁸ Kā: agniñ

³⁹ Kā: śam

⁴⁰ yāśāṁ devā divi kṛṇvanti bhakṣāṁ [] yā antarikṣe bahudhā bhavanti	11-11
yā agniṁ garbhāṁ dadhire suvarṇāḥ [] tā na āpaś śam̄ ⁴¹ sīyonā bhavantu 4	11-11
⁴² śivena mā cakṣuṣā + paśyatāpaś ⁴³ [] śivayā tanvopa spr̄ṣata ⁴⁴ tvacāṁ me	11-12
+ ghṛtaścutaś ⁴⁵ śucayo + yah ⁴⁶ pāvakāś [] tā na āpaś śam̄ ⁴⁷ sīyonā ⁴⁸ bhavantu] 5	11-11

⁴⁰ = PSK 14.1.4 = PSK 1.25.3

⁴¹ Kā: śam̄

⁴² = PSK 14.1.5 = PSK 1.25.4

⁴³ Kā, Mā, Ma, Ja, Vā: Gu_c: paśyatāpaḥ

⁴⁴ Gu_c: spr̄ṣata

⁴⁵ Gu_c: ghṛtaścutaḥ; Ma_c, Ja: ghṛtaścyutaḥ

⁴⁶ Kā, Ja, Ma_c, Vā: yaḥ

⁴⁷ Gu_c: sam̄; Ja, Vā: śyam̄

⁴⁸ Gu_c: śyonā

⁴⁹ āpo ⁵⁰ devīr ⁵¹ madhumatīr agrhṇat _{a-} ⁵² + -ṛjasvatī ⁵³ rājasūya ⁵⁴	12-12
mayobhuvaḥ ⁵⁵	
yābhīr mitrāvaraṇāv ⁵⁶ abhyaśiñcan ⁵⁷ tā ⁵⁸ [na āpo rājasūya avantu] 6 ⁵⁹	11-11
⁶⁰ varuṇena ⁶¹ presitā yanti ⁶² śubhra ⁶³ utsam ⁶⁴ devīr dadhate ⁶⁵	11-11
yā ⁶⁶ hiranyam ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸	
yā brahmaṇā ⁶⁹ punate ⁷⁰ saṃvidānāś ⁷¹ tā ⁷² [na āpo rājasūya avantu] 7	11-11

⁴⁹ = PSK 14.1.6

⁵⁰ Kā: apo; Gu_c: apor

⁵¹ Gu_c: devī

⁵² Kā: gṛbhū-; Mā_{1c}: agrhṇanota

⁵³ Kā: -ūrvājsati; Mā_{1c}: rjasvatī; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: -ūrjasyati

⁵⁴ Kā: rājasūryā

⁵⁵ Kā: om. |

⁵⁶ Kā: mitrāvaraṇa; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: mitrāvaraṇāv

⁵⁷ Kā: abhyaśicyan; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: abhyaśiñcam

⁵⁸ Kā: tā |; Mā_{1c}: tā ||; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nāḥ āpo rājasuyā
avantu |

⁵⁹ Kā: |

⁶⁰ = PSK 14.1.7

⁶¹ Kā: varuṇonena; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: varuṇena

⁶² Kā: yamtu

⁶³ Kā: śukrāḥ; Ma_{2c}: śabhrā

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}: uccha; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ucchan

⁶⁵ Gu_c: dadhata

⁶⁶ Kā: ā

⁶⁷ Ma_{1c}: hiranyan; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: hiranyayan; Bh: ⁺hiranyayam

⁶⁸ Kā: om. |

⁶⁹ Kā: vrahmaṇā-

⁷⁰ Kā: -āpnute

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: samvidānāś

⁷² Kā: tā |; Mā_{1c}: tā nāḥ ||; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nāḥ āpo rājasuyā
avantu |

⁷³ apas ⁷⁴ samudrād ⁷⁵ divam udvahanti ⁷⁶ divas pṛthivīm abhi yās ⁷⁷ srjanti	11-11
yābhīr ⁷⁸ Iśānā ⁷⁹ marutaś ⁸⁰ caranti tā ⁸¹ [na āpo rājasūya avantu] 8 ⁸²	11-11
⁸³ yā ⁸⁴ amṛtam ⁸⁵ bibhrati ⁸⁶ yā madhu priyam ⁸⁷ yā ⁸⁸ agrhṇan ⁸⁸ ṛsayo ⁸⁹ devasakhye ⁹⁰	12-11
yābhīr indram aty ⁹¹ anayann ⁹² arātīs ⁹³ tā ⁹⁴ [na āpo rājasūya avantu] 9	11-11

⁷³ = PSK 14.1.8

⁷⁴ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: apaḥ

⁷⁵ Kā: samudrā

⁷⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: uvdaḥanti

⁷⁷ Kā, Gu_c: yā; Mā_{2c}, Ma_{1c}, Pa_c: yāḥ

⁷⁸ Kā: yadbhir

⁷⁹ Pa_c: Iśāno

⁸⁰ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: maṛtaś

⁸¹ Kā: tā |; Mā_{1c}: tāḥ ||; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah āpo rājasuya
avantu |

⁸² Kā: z

⁸³ = PSK 14.1.9

⁸⁴ Kā: yā-

⁸⁵ Kā: -amṛtam

⁸⁶ Kā: tibhratam

⁸⁷ Kā, Mā_{1c}: yā-

⁸⁸ Kā: -agr̥bhṇam; Mā_{1c}: -agr̥hṇan; Ma_{2c}: unclear, agr̥bhṇan; the scribe of Ma₂ has corrected the reading underneath the -bhṇ- akṣara by writing hn; Bh: ⁺agr̥bhṇan, Bhattacharya reads gr̥bhra(← hn)n in his apparatus and notes that Mā₁ reads gr̥hṇam.

⁸⁹ Ma_{2c}: ruṣayo

⁹⁰ Kā: om. |

⁹¹ Kā: abhra

⁹² Kā: nay

⁹³ Pa_c: arātrīs

⁹⁴ Kā: tā |; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah āpo rājasuya avantu |

⁹⁵yā jīvadhanya⁹⁶ dhanam⁹⁷ ut⁹⁸ pṛṇanti⁹⁹ || devayate dāśuṣe¹⁰⁰
 mart̄iyāya¹⁰¹ |¹⁰² yāsāṁ payo akṣitam¹⁰³ akṣitānāṁ¹⁰⁴ | tā¹⁰⁵ [na āpo rājasūya
 avantu] ||10||

11-11
11-11

⁹⁵ = PSK 14.1.10

⁹⁶ Kā: jīvayanyā

⁹⁷ Kā: dhanar

⁹⁸ Kā: dhatu; Pa_c: ut̄

⁹⁹ Kā: praṇayanti

¹⁰⁰ Kā: dāśuṣe; Gu_c: dāśuse

¹⁰¹ Gu_c: martāya

¹⁰² Kā: om. |

¹⁰³ Kā: akṣatam

¹⁰⁴ Kā: akṣatānāṁ

¹⁰⁵ Kā: tā |; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah̄ āpo rājasuyā avantu |

¹ hiranyaupaśā ² + dhvajaniḥ ³ punānā yāś ⁴ samudram ⁵ abhīy arcanti dhenavah ⁶ ⁷	11-12
yāḥ ⁸ parjanyo vahat ⁹ y antarikṣe ¹⁰ tā ¹¹ [na āpo rājasūyā avantu] 1	11-11
¹² rathantare bṛhatī ¹³ gīyamāne kṣattram ¹⁴ jinvanti pra tirant ¹⁵ āyuh ¹⁶ ¹⁷	11-11
yābhīs ¹⁸ trayān ¹⁹ vājino ²⁰ vājayanti ²¹ tā ²² [na āpo rājasūyā avantu] 2	11-11

¹ = PSK 14.1.11

² Kā: hiraṇyuāpāśā. Manuscript has a wedge attached to the lower portion of -y- which would seem to indicate -u-. However, the size of the wedge is unusually large - it seems that perhaps the scribe was trying to scratch out the -u-. B_T: hiraṇyapāśā; Mā_{1c}: hiraṇyaupāśā; Pa_c: hiraṇyaupaśā; Gu_c: hiraṇyaupasa

³ Kā: dhvajaniyah; Mā_{1c}: dhvajaniḥ; Bh: dhvajaniḥ

⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yāḥ

⁵ Pa_c, Gu_c: samudrām

⁶ Kā: dhenavah

⁷ Kā: om. |

⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: yāḥ; Gu_c: yā

⁹ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vṛhaty

¹⁰ Gu_c: antarikṣo

¹¹ Kā: tā z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah āpo rājasuyā avantu |

¹² = PSK 14.1.12

¹³ Kā: vṛhada; Gu_c: bṛhatī

¹⁴ Kā: kṣattram; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: kṣetram; Ma_{2c}: kṣatra. To the left of kṣ- there is what seems to be an -e-which has been crossed out. Bhattacharya notes kṣa(←kṣe)tram;Gu_c: kṣetra

¹⁵ Kā: tiranta

¹⁶ Kā: om. |

¹⁷ Pa_c, Gu_c: yābhīr

¹⁸ Kā, Mā_{1c}: triyān; Ma_{2c}: trayām

¹⁹ Pa_c: vādino

²⁰ Kā: vājayantvi

²¹ Kā: tā z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah āpo rājasuyā avantu |

²² yābhīs ²³ sahā ²⁴ vṛtrahā ²⁵ somam indro vasor Isāno apibat ²⁶	11-11
sutasya	
yās ²⁷ sapta ṛṣayah ²⁸ kavayah ²⁹ punanti tā ³⁰ [na āpo rājasuyā avantu] 3	11-11
³¹ sapta ṛṣayo ³² bharatam ³³ abhy aśiñcann asmin ³⁴ rāṣṭram ³⁵	11-11
adadhur ³⁶ ḍakṣināvat ³⁷ ³⁸	
prajāyai ³⁹ manum ⁴⁰ + asuvanta ⁴¹ devās tā ⁴² [na āpo rājasuyā avantu] 4	11-11

²² = PSK 14.1.13

²³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yābhiḥ

²⁴ Kā: sahā

²⁵ Kā: vṛtrahā

²⁶ Kā: pivat; Pa_c: apibat,

²⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yāḥ

²⁸ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: ṛṣayah; Ma_{2c}: ruṣayah; Gu_c: ṛṣayo

²⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kavayah

³⁰ Kā: tās; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah āpo rājasuyā avantu |

³¹ = PSK 14.1.14

³² Ma_{2c}: ruṣayo

³³ Kā: bharatham

³⁴ Kā, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: āśmin

³⁵ Gu_c: nāṣṭram

³⁶ Kā: adbhir

³⁷ Gu_c: ḍakṣināvata

³⁸ Kā: om. |

³⁹ Kā: prajā

⁴⁰ Kā: imamīs

⁴¹ Kā: asumanta; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: asumavanta; Pa_c: avanta; Gu_c: asumavanta;

Bh: asumavanta

⁴² Kā: tāḥ z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah āpo rājasuyā avantu |

⁴³ yābhīr yajñam prāñcam ukṣanti ⁴⁴ dhīra ⁴⁵ yābhīs ⁴⁶ somam ⁴⁷	11-11
madhuप्रत्यक्षम् punanti	
yābhīr idam jīvati viśvam ejat ⁴⁸ tā ⁴⁹ [na āpo rājasūyā	
avantu] 5	11-11
⁵⁰ yāsām ⁵¹ stokā madhumayā babhūvur [] ghṛtam samjñānam	11-11
madhu pinvate ⁵² yāh ⁵³	
yās ⁵⁴ soma ⁵⁵ + āpaḥ ⁵⁶ prāṇayanti ⁵⁷ brahmaṇā [] tā ⁵⁸ [na āpo	
rājasūyā avantu] 6 ⁵⁹	12-11

⁴³ = PSk 14.1.15

⁴⁴ Kā: ukham ca; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: ukṣyanti; Bh: *ukṣyanti

⁴⁵ Mā_{1c}: devā

⁴⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yabhiḥ

⁴⁷ Kā: soma

⁴⁸ Mā_{1c}: ejat

⁴⁹ Kā: tāḥ z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah āpo rājasuyā avantu |

⁵⁰ = PSK 14.1.16

⁵¹ Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, Pa_c: yās tām

⁵² Kā: pin?vate

⁵³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, Pa_c: jāḥ

⁵⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: yāh; Pa_c, Gu_c: yā

⁵⁵ Kā: somā-

⁵⁶ Kā: -āpaḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: āpaḥ

⁵⁷ Kā: paṇayantu

⁵⁸ Kā: thāḥ z; Ma_{2c}: tāḥ ||; Pa_c: tā na; Gu_c: tā nah āpo rājasuyā avantu |

⁵⁹ Kā: z

⁶⁰ yāśāṁ pador ājīyam ⁶¹ vājinam ⁶² ca ⁶³ somasya prasavam anu yāḥ ⁶⁴ pavante ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶	11-12
antarvatīs taruṇavatsā ⁶⁷ ghṛtācīs tā ⁶⁸ na āpo ⁶⁹ rājasūya ⁷⁰ avantu ⁷¹ 7	12-11
⁷² ajījananta ⁷³ + matayas ⁷⁴ s <u>u</u> varvida ⁷⁵ ā ⁷⁶ brahmaṇā ⁷⁷ sūktadheyāny ⁷⁷ aguh ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ + asuṣvata ⁷⁹ rājasūyah ⁸⁰ pāyāṁsi ⁸¹ prāśāvid ⁸² + devas ⁸³ savitā ⁸⁴ bhuvanāni viśvā 8 ⁸⁴	12-11 11-14

⁶⁰ = PSK 14.1.17

⁶¹ Kā: ārājyam

⁶² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, Pa_c: vājinan

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ca

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: yāḥ; Pa_c: yā

⁶⁵ Kā: pavanti

⁶⁶ Kā: om. |

⁶⁷ Kā: tr̄ṇavatsā; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: taruṇavatsā

⁶⁸ Gu_c: tā; The scribe of Gu_c does not write out the entire pāda even though it is the last time it is repeated in sequence, but follows prātīka quotation.

⁶⁹ Kā: -āpo

⁷⁰ Kā: rājasuyā-

⁷¹ Kā: -avantu

⁷² = PSK 14.1.18

⁷³ Kā: ajījanamta

⁷⁴ Kā; muttayas; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: matayah

⁷⁵ Kā: svarvida-

⁷⁶ Kā: -ā

⁷⁷ Kā: sūyeyāny

⁷⁸ Ma_{2c}: unreadable. Bhattacharya's apparatus does not make a note on this item.

⁷⁹ Kā: asukta; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: asuṣūta; Ma_{2c}: asuṣuta; Pa_c: asuṣūta; Bh: asuṣuta

⁸⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: rājasūyah; Gu_c: rājasūya

⁸¹ Kā: payāṁsi; B_T: payānsi

⁸² Kā: prasāvai; Pa_c: prasāvid; Gu_c: prāśāvid

⁸³ Kā: keva; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: devah

⁸⁴ Mā_{1c}: |

<p>⁸⁵somo rājā bhavo rājā paśupatiḥ⁸⁶ paśunāṁ varuṇo⁸⁷ dhṛtavrataḥ ⁸⁸</p> <p>ye rājasūye⁸⁹ asūyanta⁹⁰ devāḥ te te kṣatram⁹¹ dadhat<u>v</u>⁹² āyur⁹³ ojaḥ 9 </p>	8-14
	11-11
	11-11
	11-11
	11-11

⁸⁵ = PSK 14.1.19

⁸⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: paśupatiḥ

⁸⁷ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: varuṇo

⁸⁸ Kā: om. |

⁸⁹ Kā: om.

⁹⁰ Kā: yanti

⁹¹ Kā: kṣattram; Pa_c, Gu_c: kṣetram

⁹² Kā: dattv

⁹³ Kā: āyor

⁹⁴ = PSK 14.1.20

⁹⁵ Kā: asthad

⁹⁶ Kā: asthāj

⁹⁷ Kā: jajiniṣṭa

⁹⁸ Kā: ripro

⁹⁹ Kā: vyāsthār; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: vyāsthad

¹⁰⁰ Kā, Gu_c: aśasita; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: aśasita

¹⁰¹ Kā: vādhiṣṭa; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: abādhiṣṭa; Bh: avādhiṣṭa

¹⁰² Kā: nirṛtiḥ; Ma_{2c}: nirṛutīm; Gu_c: nirṛtam

¹⁰³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: parācaih

¹⁰⁴ Kā: samavṛkta

¹⁰⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: raśmibhiḥ

¹⁰⁶ Kā: sūryasya

¹apaśyam² tvāvarohantam³ | divitah⁴ pṛthivīm⁵ ava⁶ | 8-8
apaśyam⁷ asyantam⁸ rudram⁹ | nīlagrīvam¹⁰ śikhaṇḍinam¹¹ ||1||¹² 8-8

¹³diva¹⁴ ugro¹⁵ + vārukṣah¹⁶ | praty¹⁷ aṣṭha¹⁸ bhūmyām¹⁹ adhi²⁰ |²¹ 8-8
+janāsaḥ²² paśyatētemam²³ | nīlagrīvam²⁴ vilohitam²⁵ ||2||²⁶ 8-8

¹ = PSK 14.2.1

² Kā: apaśyan; NU: apaśyam

³ NU: tvāvarohantam

⁴ Kā: divataḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: divataḥ; NU: divitah

⁵ NU: pṛthivīm

⁶ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: iva; NU: avah; Bh: īva

⁷ NU: apaśyam

⁸ NU: rudram

⁹ NU: asyantam

¹⁰ NU: nīlagrīvam

¹¹ Kā, NU: śikhaṇḍinam

¹² Kā: z

¹³ = PSK 14.2.2

¹⁴ Kā: divaru; NU: diva

¹⁵ NU: ugro

¹⁶ Kā: vārukṣat.: Mā_{1c}: vārkṣah; Ma_{2c}: vārukṣah; Pa_c: vārukṣa; Gu_c: vārkṣah;
NU: 'varukṣat'

¹⁷ NU: praty

¹⁸ Kā: uṣṭamad; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aṣṭhā; NU: aṣṭhād

¹⁹ NU: bhūmyāmam

²⁰ NU: adi

²¹ Kā: om. |

²² Kā: janāmaḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: janāsaḥ

²³ Kā: paśyatesam; NU: paśyatētemam

²⁴ NU: nīlagrīvam

²⁵ NU: vilohitam

²⁶ Kā: |

²⁷ esa ²⁸ ait̄y ²⁹ avīrahā ³⁰ rudro ³¹ jalāṣabheṣaji ³² ³³	8-8
vi ³⁴ te ³⁵ kṣepam ³⁶ anīnaśad ³⁷ vātikāro ³⁸ v̄i y etu te ³⁹ 3 ⁴⁰	8-8
⁴¹ namas te bhava bhāmāya ⁴² namas te bhava manyave	8-8
namas te astu ⁴³ bāhubhyām uto ta iṣave namah 4 ⁴⁴	8-8

²⁷ = PSK 14.2.3

²⁸ Kā: eśa-; NU: eṣa

²⁹ Kā: -ait̄y; NU: ety

³⁰ Kā: vīrahā; NU: avīrahā

³¹ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ḥdro; NU: rudro

³² Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, NU: jalāṣabheṣaji

³³ Kā: om. |

³⁴ Pa_c: vī; NU: vitte

³⁵ Kā: om.

³⁶ NU: 'kṣemam

³⁷ Gu_c: anīnaśav; NU: anīnaśad

³⁸ Kā: avācīkāro; Pa_c, NU: vātikāro; Gu_c: dātikāra

³⁹ NU: te

⁴⁰ Kā: om. |

⁴¹ = PSK 14.2.4

⁴² Kā: tāmāya

⁴³ Kā: om.

⁴⁴ Kā: z

⁴⁵yām *iṣum⁴⁶ giriṣanta⁴⁷ | hāste⁴⁸ bibharṣiy⁴⁹ astave |⁵⁰ 7-8
 śivām⁵¹ +giriṣritam⁵¹ kṛṇu || mā hiṁsīḥ⁵² puruṣān⁵³ mama⁵⁴ ||5||⁵⁵ 8-8

⁵⁶śivēna⁵⁷ vācasā⁵⁸ tūvā | giriṣāchā⁵⁹ vadāmasi⁶⁰ | 8-8
 yāthā⁶¹ nas⁶² sārvam⁶³ ij⁶⁴ jāgad⁶⁵ | ayakṣmām⁶⁶ sumáno⁶⁷
 +ásat⁶⁸ ||6|| 8-8

⁴⁵ = PSK 14.2.5

⁴⁶ Kā: ukham; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: iṣam; NU: iṣum; Bh: iṣam

⁴⁷ Kā: giriṣamta; Mā_{1c}: giriṣanta

⁴⁸ Kā: haster

⁴⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: bibharsiṣy; Pa_c: bibhiriṣy

⁵⁰ Kā: om |

⁵¹ Kā: giriṣatam; Mā_{1c}: giriṣṛtam; NU: giritratam

⁵² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: hiṁsīḥ; B_T: hiṁsīḥ; NU: hiṁsīḥ

⁵³ Gu_c: puruṣān

⁵⁴ Kā: namah

⁵⁵ Kā: z

⁵⁶ = PSK 14.2.6

⁵⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śivena

⁵⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: vacasā

⁵⁹ Kā: kṛṣchrāśchā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: giriṣāchā

⁶⁰ Kā: vadāmamasi

⁶¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yathā

⁶² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: nah

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: sarvam

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ij

⁶⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: jagad

⁶⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ayakṣman

⁶⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sumano; NU: sumanā

⁶⁸ Kā: hásat; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: asat

⁶⁹ yá ⁷⁰ ta íṣuś ⁷¹ śivátamā ⁷² śivám ⁷³ babhúva ⁷⁴ te dhánuḥ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶	8-8
śivá ⁷⁷ śaravyà ⁷⁸ yá ⁷⁹ tavá ⁸⁰ táyā ⁸¹ no mr̥la ⁸² jíváse ⁸³ 7	8-8
⁸⁴ yá ⁸⁵ te rudra ⁸⁶ śivá ⁸⁷ tanúr ⁸⁸ ághorápāpakaśinī ⁸⁹	8-8
táyā ⁹⁰ nas tanvā ⁹¹ śántamaya ⁹² gíriśantābhi ⁹³ + cākaśah ⁹⁴ 8	9-8

⁶⁹ = PSK 14.2.7

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yā

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: íṣuh

⁷² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śivatamā

⁷³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śivam

⁷⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: babhūva

⁷⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dhanuḥ

⁷⁶ Kā: om. |

⁷⁷ Kā: nivā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śiva

⁷⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śaravayā

⁷⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yā

⁸⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tava

⁸¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tayā

⁸² NU: mr̥da

⁸³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: jīvase

⁸⁴ = PSK 14.2.8

⁸⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yā

⁸⁶ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ḫdra

⁸⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śivā

⁸⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tanūr

⁸⁹ Kā: ághorápakaśinī; B_T: °pakaścani; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aghorápakaśinī; NU: aghora'pāpakaśinī

⁹⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tayā

⁹¹ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tanvā

⁹² Kā: śáṃtamayā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śantaymayā; NU: śam̥tamayā

⁹³ Kā: giriśam̥tvābhi; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: giriśantābhi

⁹⁴ Kā: cākasā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: cākaśa; NU: cākaśat; Bh: cākaśa

⁹⁵ asáu ⁹⁶ yás ⁹⁷ + tāmró ⁹⁸ + aruṇá ⁹⁹ utá ¹⁰⁰ + babhrú ¹⁰¹ + vílohitah ¹⁰²	8-8
yé ¹⁰³ cemé ¹⁰⁴ ábhitō ¹⁰⁵ rudrā ¹⁰⁶ diksú ¹⁰⁷ + śritás ¹⁰⁸ sahasraśo ¹⁰⁹ []	8-8
+ ^a váiśām ¹¹⁰ héla ¹¹¹ imahe 9 ¹¹²	8
¹¹³ + adarśam ¹¹⁴ tvāvarohantam ¹¹⁵ nilagrīvam ¹¹⁶ vilohitam	8-8
uta tvā ¹¹⁷ gopā ¹¹⁸ adrśann ¹¹⁹ uta t <u>v</u> odahāryah ¹²⁰	8-8
uto tvā ¹²¹ viśvā bhūtāni tasmai drṣṭaya te namah 10 ¹²²	8-8

⁹⁵ = PSK 14.2.9

⁹⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: asau

⁹⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: yas

⁹⁸ Kā: tāmrá; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tāmro

⁹⁹ Kā: varṇa; Ma_{2c}, NU: aruṇa; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: arṇa

¹⁰⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: uta

¹⁰¹ Kā: babhruh; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, NU: babhrur; Pa_c: babhr̄

¹⁰² Kā: vílohitáḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: vilohitáḥ

¹⁰³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ye

¹⁰⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ceme

¹⁰⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: abhito; NU: rudrā

¹⁰⁶ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: rudrā; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: ṛdrā NU: abhito

¹⁰⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: diksú

¹⁰⁸ Kā: śṛtás; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: śritāḥ

¹⁰⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: sahasraśo

¹¹⁰ Kā: váiśām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vaiśām; NU: 'vaiśām

¹¹¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: hélaNU: hedā

¹¹² Kā: z

¹¹³ = PSK 14.2.10

¹¹⁴ Kā: adrśyam; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: adrśam; Ma_{2c}: adaśam; NU: apaśyam

¹¹⁵ Kā: tvāvirohitam

¹¹⁶ Kā: nīlagravam

¹¹⁷ Kā: dvā

¹¹⁸ Kā: gopā-; Pa_c: gopāya

¹¹⁹ Kā: -adrśam; Mā_{1c}: adrśam; Ma_{2c}: adaśann

¹²⁰ Kā: dvodahāryah ; Gu_c: todahāryah

¹²¹ Kā: dvā

¹²² Kā: z

¹ námo ² ^a stu ³ + nílaśikhaṇḍaya ⁴ sahasrākṣaya ⁵ vājine ⁶	9-8
átho ⁷ yé ⁸ + asyá ⁹ sátvānas ¹⁰ tébhyo ¹¹ [']hám ¹² akaram ¹³	8-8
námah ¹⁴ 1	
¹⁵ námāṁsi ¹⁶ ta áyudhāya ¹⁷ -anātataya ¹⁸ dhṛṣṇáve ¹⁹	8-8
ubhábhyām ²⁰ akáram ²¹ námo ²² bāhúbhyām ²³ tāva ²⁴	8-8
dhanvane ²⁵ 2	

¹ = PSK 14.2.11

² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: namo

³ Kā, Mā_{1c}: stu; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: astu

⁴ Kā: nílaśikhaṇḍaya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: nílaśikhaṇḍaya

⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: sahasrākṣaya

⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: vājine

⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: atho

⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ye

⁹ Kā: sya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: asya

¹⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: satvānas

¹¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tebhyo

¹² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ham; NU: 'ham

¹³ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: akaran; NU: akaram

¹⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: námah

¹⁵ = PSK 14.2.12

¹⁶ Kā: námāṁsi; Bṛ: námāṁsi; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: namāṁsi;

¹⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: áyudhāya-

¹⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: -anātataya

¹⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dhṛṣṇave

²⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ubhábhyām

²¹ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: akaran; NU: akaram

²² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: námo

²³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: bāhubhyām

²⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: tava

²⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dhanvane

²⁶ prámuñca ²⁷ +dhánvanah ²⁸ páry ²⁹ ubháyor ³⁰ ártniyor ³¹	8-8
jyām ³²	
yāś cá ³³ te ³⁴ hasta ³⁵ iṣavah ³⁶ para ³⁷ tā ³⁸ bhagavo ³⁹	8-8
+[']vapah ⁴⁰ 3	
⁴¹ avatatyā ⁴² dhanus ⁴³ tūvam ⁴⁴ sahasrakṣa ⁴⁵ śateśudhe ⁴⁶	8-8
niśiryā ⁴⁷ śalyānām ⁴⁸ mukhā ⁴⁹ śivo ⁵⁰ naś ⁵¹ śambhur ⁵² ā ⁵³	
cara ⁵⁴ 4	8-8

²⁶ = PSK 14.2.13

²⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: pramuñca

²⁸ Kā: dhánvanam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: dhanvanas

²⁹ Kā: pari; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c; vary; NU: tvam

³⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: ubhaylor

³¹ Kā: álnyor; B_T: átnyor; Pa_c, Gu_c: átnyor; NU: ártniyor

³² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: jyām; NU: jyām

³³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ca; NU: va; Accented portion of Kā ends with cá.

³⁴ NU: te

³⁵ NU: hasta

³⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c, NU: iṣavah³⁶; Pa_c: iṣavah³⁶

³⁷ NU: para

³⁸ NU: tā

³⁹ NU: bhagavo

⁴⁰ Kā, NU: vapa

⁴¹ = PSK 14.2.14

⁴² Kā: avatibhya; NU: avatatyā

⁴³ NU: dhanus

⁴⁴ Gu_c: tam; NU: tvarṇ

⁴⁵ Kā: sahasrakṣaś; B_T: sahasrakṣás. Barret has confused the accent mark of line 4 of the manuscript as belonging to line 5; NU: sahasrakṣa

⁴⁶ Kā: śateśute; Nu: śateśudhe

⁴⁷ Kā: niśarya; NU: niśaryā

⁴⁸ NU: śalyānām

⁴⁹ NU: mukhā

⁵⁰ NU: śivo

⁵¹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: naḥ

⁵² NU: śambhur

⁵³ NU: ā

⁵⁴ Kā: varah; NU: bhara

⁵⁵vijyam⁵⁶ + dhanus⁵⁷ śikhandino | viśalyo bāṇavān⁵⁸ uta |
+ aneśann⁵⁹ + asyā- iṣavaś⁶⁰ | śivo⁶¹ asya⁶² + niṣaṅgathih⁶³ ||5|| 8-8
8-8

⁶⁴pari⁶⁵ te⁶⁶ dhanvano⁶⁷ hetir⁶⁸ | asmān⁶⁹ vṛṇaktu⁷⁰ viśvataḥ⁷¹ |⁷²
atho⁷³ ya⁷⁴ iṣudhis⁷⁵ tav_{a-}⁷⁶ | -are⁷⁷ asmin⁷⁸ ni⁷⁹ dhehi⁸⁰ tam⁸¹ ||6|| 8-8
8-8

⁵⁵ = PSK 14.2.15

⁵⁶ Kā: vijyan; NU: vijyam

⁵⁷ Kā: denuś; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dhanuh; NU: dhanuh

⁵⁸ Kā: bāṇavām; B_T: bāṇavān; NU: bāṇavām; Bh: bāṇavāṁ

⁵⁹ Kā: anyeśany; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aneśamn; NU: aneśann

⁶⁰ Kā: asya iṣavaś; Mā_{1c}: aśyeśy(←sy)aśivah; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, NU: asyeśavah

⁶¹ NU: ābhur

⁶² Kā: sya; NU: asya

⁶³ Kā: niṣamśati; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: niṣaṅgatih; NU: niṣaṅgathih

⁶⁴ = PSK 14.2.16

⁶⁵ NU: pari

⁶⁶ NU: te

⁶⁷ Kā: dhanvino; NU: dhanvano

⁶⁸ Kā: hetiy; NU: heti

⁶⁹ Kā: asmād; NU: asmān

⁷⁰ Kā: runaktu; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vṛṇakta; NU: vṛṇaktu

⁷¹ NU: viśvataḥ

⁷² Kā: om. |

⁷³ NU: atho

⁷⁴ NU: ya

⁷⁵ Kā: yeṣudhis; NU: iṣudhis

⁷⁶ NU: tava-

⁷⁷ NU: -are

⁷⁸ Kā: smin; NU: 'smin

⁷⁹ Kā: vi; NU: ni

⁸⁰ NU: dhehi

⁸¹ Kā: tam_\; NU: tam

⁸²yā⁸³ te⁸⁴ hetir⁸⁵ + mīḍhuṣṭama⁸⁶ |⁸⁷ haste⁸⁸ babhūva⁸⁹ te⁹⁰
 dhanuh̄⁹¹ |⁹²
 tayā⁹³ tvam̄⁹⁴ viśvato⁹⁵ asmān⁹⁶ | ayakṣmaya⁹⁷ pari⁹⁸ bhuja⁹⁹ ||7||¹⁰⁰
8-8
8-8

⁸² = PSK 14.2.17

⁸³ NU: yā

⁸⁴ NU: te

⁸⁵ Kā: heti hetin; NU: hetir

⁸⁶ Kā: madhuṣṭhama; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: mituṣṭama; NU: mīḍhuṣṭama

⁸⁷ Kā: |

⁸⁸ NU: haste

⁸⁹ NU: babhūva

⁹⁰ NU: te

⁹¹ NU: dhanuh̄

⁹² Kā: om. |

⁹³ Gu_c: tayā-; NU: tayā

⁹⁴ Gu_c: -aham̄; NU: tvam̄

⁹⁵ NU: viśvato

⁹⁶ Kā: smān; NU: asmān

⁹⁷ NU: ayakṣmaya

⁹⁸ NU: pari

⁹⁹ Kā: bhūjah̄; Pa_c: bhuja; NU: bbhūja

¹⁰⁰ Kā: zz ity atharvaṇikapaippaladāyāś śākhayāṁ caturdaśasyārah̄ zz

¹ supārś <u>vā</u> kāmadughā ² na ³ āgañ ⁴ chataudanā ⁵ payasā pinvamānā ^{+ūrjam} ⁶ duhānā ⁷ anapasphuranti ⁸ yajamānasya pratirant̄iy ⁹ āyuḥ 1 	11-11
¹⁰ grbhṇāmi medhyām ¹¹ uśatīm ¹² s <u>vastaya</u> ¹³ ūrjasvatīm anamīvām ¹⁴ s <u>vādhīyām</u> ¹⁵ ¹⁶ viśvo loko ¹⁷ mama deve <u>v</u> astu ¹⁸ śataudanām ⁺ śraddadhānah ¹⁹ pacāmi 2 ²⁰	12-12 11-11

¹ = PSK 14.3.1

² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: kāmadhughā; Pa_c: kāmamadhughā; Gu_c: kāmadhughā

³ Kā: na-

⁴ Kā: -āgam; Mā_{1c}: āgam

⁵ Kā: śataudanā

⁶ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: urjam

⁷ Kā: duhān

⁸ Kā: apasphuranti

⁹ Kā: patiranta

¹⁰ = PSK 14.3.2

¹¹ Kā: vedhyām; Mā_{1c}: medham; Pa_c, Gu_c: madhyām

¹² Mā_{1c}: usatīm

¹³ Kā: yām svastayam

¹⁴ Kā: anasīvām

¹⁵ Kā: sādhyām

¹⁶ Kā: om. |

¹⁷ Kā: lokām

¹⁸ Kā: om. d

¹⁹ Mā_{1c}: śraddadhāḥ; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: śraddadhānah; Gu_c: śraddadhānam

²⁰ Kā: om.

²¹ badhāna devīm abhi dhehi bhuñjatiṁ śataudanāṁ ²² kāmadughā ²³	
hiy ²⁴ eṣā	12-11
maināṁ ²⁵ hiṁśīr ²⁶ aśmaṇā ²⁷ + jarhṛṣāṇo ²⁸ apy ²⁹ etu devān ³⁰ ati ³¹	
gachati ³² dviṣah ³³ 3	11-12
³⁴ ā rabhasva brahmaṇā ³⁵ vaiśvadevīm ³⁶ śataudanāṁ śatapāpmāno ³⁷	
asyāḥ ³⁸	11-11
samarpayann ³⁹ aśmaṇā ⁴⁰ parvatena ⁴¹ svargam̄ lokam adhi	
+ rohay _{a-} nām ⁴² 4	11-11

²¹ = PSK 14.3.3; Kā: om. 3a

²² Kā: śatodanāṁ

²³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kāmdhughā

²⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: jy

²⁵ Kā: nainām

²⁶ Kā: hiṁśīr; Bṛ: hiṁśīr; Pa_c: hişīr

²⁷ Kā: aśvinā; Pa_c: aśminā

²⁸ Kā: jarhṛṣāṇo; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: jahṛṣāṇo

²⁹ Kā: apy; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: py

³⁰ Kā: devām

³¹ Kā: api

³² Kā: gaśchata

³³ Kā: dviṣah; Gu_c: biṣah

³⁴ = PKS 14.3.4

³⁵ Kā: vrāhmaṇā

³⁶ Kā: vaiśvadevyām

³⁷ Kā: śatamacamāno

³⁸ Kā sya

³⁹ Kā: samapaiyām; Mā_{1c}: samarpayan; Pa_c, Gu_c: samarpayant

⁴⁰ Kā: raśminā; Pa_c: uśmanā

⁴¹ Kā: parvatenaḥ

⁴² Kā: roha enam z; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: rohayaīnam

⁴³ dhṛṣṇu ⁴⁴ hi ⁴⁵ enām ⁴⁶ + vikṛtām ⁴⁷ vikṛntann ⁴⁸ apaghnamś ⁴⁹	
carmeraya ⁵⁰ sam̄ sṛjainām ⁵¹ ⁵²	11-11
virājo duhiteraya ⁵³ samakta ⁵⁴ kāmam̄-kāmam̄ yajamānāya	
duhām ⁵⁵ 5	11-11
⁵⁶ yathāparu ⁵⁷ viśasan ⁵⁸ māti ⁵⁹ + mamsthāḥ ⁶⁰ kr̄nuṣvā me	
+ nāmadheyāni ⁶¹ pṛthak ₁	11-11
agan ⁶² devān ⁶³ mānuṣī ⁶⁴ ya purābhūc ⁶⁵ chataudanā pururūpā ⁶⁶	
suvarṇā ⁶⁷ 6	11-11

⁴³ = PSK 14.3.5

⁴⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dhṛṣṇa

⁴⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: jy

⁴⁶ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: enān

⁴⁷ Kā: viśvatā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vikṛtā

⁴⁸ Kā: nikṛntam; Pa_c, Gu_c: vikantann

⁴⁹ Kā: apaghnoś; Gu_c: apaghnamś

⁵⁰ Kā: carumeraya; Pa_c: armerayī; Gu_c: carmerayī

⁵¹ Kā: sṛjīnām; Ma_{2c}: sṛjenām

⁵² Kā: om. |

⁵³ Kā: duhiteraya |; Pa_c, Gu_c: duhiterayī

⁵⁴ Kā: sasat

⁵⁵ Bh: duhām₁

⁵⁶ = PSK 14.3.6

⁵⁷ Kā: yathāpari; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: yathāpar

⁵⁸ Kā: viśasam̄

⁵⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: nāti

⁶⁰ Kā: mamsthā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: mamsthāḥ

⁶¹ Kā: nāmadheyām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: nāvadheyāna; Pa_c: nāvadheyān

⁶² Kā: agham̄

⁶³ Kā: devā

⁶⁴ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: mānuṣīr; Pa_c: mānuṣar

⁶⁵ Kā: parābhūś; Pa_c: parābhūc

⁶⁶ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: purūpā

⁶⁷ Kā: saparṇā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: suvarṇā

⁶⁸⁺ dvipād ⁶⁹ dvihastah ⁷⁰ puruṣo ⁷¹ + <u>mahādamo</u> ⁷² vanaspatim ⁷³	12-11
bibharti ⁷⁴ sāyakāgram ⁷⁵	
tena parūmṣi ⁷⁶ pravidvān + aghnyayāś ⁷⁷ śataudanāṁ devīm ⁷⁸	11-11
śatadhā vy asya 7	
⁷⁹ etam ⁸⁰ bradhnam ⁸¹ carmaṇah ⁸² kṛnta sādhu ⁸³ tam ⁸⁴ u ⁸⁵	11-11
pramāya śatadhā ⁸⁶ vīy asya ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸	
sam ut ⁸⁹ sajann ⁹⁰ ava dhānāni ⁹¹ sarvā ⁹² rāyaspoṣam yajamānāya	
dhehi 8	11-11

⁶⁸ = PSK 14.3.7

⁶⁹ Kā: dviṣā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: dvipāt; Gu_c: dipāt;

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: dvihastah; Gu_c: ???hastah

⁷¹ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puruṣo

⁷² Kā: mahānavo; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: mahadamo

⁷³ Kā: navanaspatim; Gu_c: vanaspatim

⁷⁴ Pa_c: babharti; Gu_c: babhartti

⁷⁵ Kā: om. |

⁷⁶ Kā: parūmṣi; B_T: parūnṣi; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: parūmṣi

⁷⁷ Kā: agnāyām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aghnyayāḥ

⁷⁸ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: devī

⁷⁹ =PSK 14.3.8

⁸⁰ Kā: yatam

⁸¹ Kā: vrādhnaṁ; Mā_{1c}, Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: braddhraṁ; Gu_c: braddhriṁ

⁸² Kā: carmaṇi; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c: carmanāḥ; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: carmaṇāḥ

⁸³ Kā: mādhat

⁸⁴ Kā: ta | m

⁸⁵ Kā: a

⁸⁶ Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: śatadhār; Gu_c: śaśatadhār

⁸⁷ Mā_{1c}: asa

⁸⁸ Kā: om. |

⁸⁹ Pa_c: ut.

⁹⁰ Kā: srjann

⁹¹ Kā: avidhānāmi; Mā_{1c}: avadhannāni; Gu_c: avadhānāni

⁹² Kā: sarvāṁ

⁹³ ṛca ⁹⁴ kumbhim adhi agnau ⁹⁵ śrayāmi bhūmyām tvā ⁹⁶ bhūmim ⁹⁷	11-11
adhi dhārayāmi	
apo ⁹⁸ māṁsaṁ bibhrati ⁹⁹ mā vyathiṣṭha ¹⁰⁰ mā tvā vadhiṣur ¹⁰¹	
menibhiḥ ¹⁰² piśacah ¹⁰³ 9	11-11
¹⁰⁴ urdhvā ¹⁰⁵ prehi mā ¹⁰⁶ sam ¹⁰⁷ viktha ¹⁰⁸ viy asya rajo antaram ¹⁰⁹	8-8
rakṣāmsi ¹¹⁰ sarvā tīrtuva ¹¹¹ -aṭha ¹¹² roha divam tuvam 10	8-8

⁹³ = PSK 14.3.9

⁹⁴ Ma_{2c}: rucā; Pa_c, Gu_c: racā

⁹⁵ Ma_{2c}: agau

⁹⁶ Kā: bhutvā

⁹⁷ Kā: bhūmīmm

⁹⁸ Kā: āpo

⁹⁹ Gu_c: bībhrati

¹⁰⁰ Pa_c: vyathiṣṭha; Gu_c: vya?iṣṭha

¹⁰¹ Kā: vidiṣubhir

¹⁰² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: menibhiḥ

¹⁰³ Kā: piśacā

¹⁰⁴ = PSK 14.3.10

¹⁰⁵ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: urdhvā; Ma_{2c}: urddhvā; Pa_c: urdva;

¹⁰⁶ Kā: sā

¹⁰⁷ Kā: pa

¹⁰⁸ Kā: vyaktā

¹⁰⁹ Kā: antarikṣam

¹¹⁰ Kā: rakṣāmsi: B_T: rakṣānsi

¹¹¹ Kā: tīntvā

¹¹² Kā: yathā°

¹ divam prehi śataudane ²	śahasrasyāyanam bhava	8-8
ayutam prayutam ³ bhav.	.akṣitir ⁴ bhavatāt ⁵ tu vam ⁶	8-8
suvargam ⁷ lokam ⁸ aruhah ⁹ 1		8
¹⁰ śataudanam ¹¹ śatadhā bhakṣayanti	śatam ¹² rohām ¹³ rohati ¹⁴	11-11
yo dadati ¹⁵ ¹⁶		
vāmadevyam naudhasam asyāḥ ¹⁷ pakṣau	tr̥tiye ¹⁸ nake adhi	
viṣṭapi ¹⁹ śritā ²⁰ 2		11-12

¹ = PSK 14.3.11

² Kā: śatodane

³ Pa_c, Gu_c: om.

⁴ Kā: -akṣatur

⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: bhavatā

⁶ Kā: tamam; Pa_c, Gu_c: tvām

⁷ Kā: svarga

⁸ Kā: lokam

⁹ Mā_{1a}, Gu_c: arhah

¹⁰ = PSK 14.3.12

¹¹ Pa_c: śatuadana

¹² Kā: śato

¹³ Kā: rohām

¹⁴ Kā: rohasi

¹⁵ Kā: dadhati

¹⁶ Kā: om. |

¹⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: asyāḥ

¹⁸ Mā_{1c}: ??tiye; Ma_{2c}: tritiye

¹⁹ Kā: tiṣṭhati

²⁰ Kā: śrutāḥ

²¹⁺ śataudanā ²² śatadhā kalpamāna ²³ śatam rūpāṇi ²⁴ kṛṇute ²⁵	11-11
svaryati ²⁶	
sā no devī ²⁷ suhavā ²⁸ śarma yachatv ²⁹ atho ³⁰ mṛdati- ³¹ drṣe 3	11-8
³² śataudanā dvādaśahena saṁmitā ³³ śatam pṛṣṭhāni ³⁴ sasṛje ³⁵	12-12
svaryati ³⁶ ³⁷	
sarvāṇi ³⁸ yajñānī ³⁹ paryati ⁴⁰ parastat sā dātāram rāyaspose	
dadhātu ⁴¹ 4	11-11

²¹ = PSK 14.3.13

²² Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c, Bh: śataudanām

²³ Kā: kalpamānām

²⁴ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: rūpāṇi

²⁵ Kā: kṛṇuti; Ma_{2c}: kṛṇubhe

²⁶ Kā: om. |

²⁷ Kā: devīs

²⁸ Pa_c: suhadā

²⁹ Kā: yaśchat

³⁰ Kā: tatho

³¹ Kā: mṛdati; Ma_{2c}: mṛjati-

³² = PSK 14.3.14

³³ Kā: kalpate |

³⁴ Kā: dṛṣṭyāni; Pa_c, Gu_c: pṛṣṭāni

³⁵ Kā: samṛje

³⁶ Kā: svaryati

³⁷ Kā: om. |

³⁸ Kā: sarvāṇi

³⁹ Kā: yajñāni

⁴⁰ Kā: prarayati

⁴¹ Kā: dadāti

abhi prehi śataudana⁴² | ijānāṁ⁴³ somasatvanah⁴⁴ | 8-8
 yajñāṁṣ⁴⁵ tūvam̄ sarvān̄ ḥaptvā⁴⁶ | kāmaprasyāyanam̄⁴⁷ bhava ||5|| 8-8

abhi prehi śataudane⁴⁸ | yajñenā yajvanas⁴⁹ tara⁵⁰ | 8-8
 ā⁵¹ + devayūn⁵² + aruroho⁵³ | yatrādas tridivam̄ divah⁵⁴ ||6|| 8-8

⁴² Kā: śataudane

⁴³ Kā: jānāṁ: B_T: janañ

⁴⁴ Pa_c: somāsaḥanah

⁴⁵ Kā: yajñāś

⁴⁶ Kā: ḥaptvā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ḥaptā

⁴⁷ Kā: kāmaḥ prācyāyanam̄

⁴⁸ Kā: śataudhane

⁴⁹ Kā: yajvanis

⁵⁰ Kā: tava

⁵¹ Kā: yā

⁵² Kā: devayoni; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: devayun

⁵³ Kā: rorho; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ar̄ho

irāpadī⁵⁴ prathama⁵⁵ śataudana⁵⁶ [] satiyan̄ hi⁵⁷ madhiyam
 amṛtam̄ śiras tava |
 ubhe devī⁵⁸ rodasi⁵⁹ āprṇāsi⁶⁰ ||7||

11-12
11

ṛtam̄⁶¹ ha⁶² śronī⁶³ uta⁶⁴ + saktyau⁶⁵ + tava⁶⁶ | + yau⁶⁷ ha bāhū
 uta tad⁶⁸ balāya kam̄ |⁶⁹
 *vaniṣṭhuḥ⁷⁰ jātharam ad⁷¹ u⁷² pārśuve⁷³ | + sarvān⁷⁴ llokān⁷⁵
 chataudana⁷⁶ samāpa⁷⁷ ||8||

11-11
11-11

⁵⁴ Kā: idāpatih; Pa_c: Irāpapadī; Gu_c: Irāpadī

⁵⁵ Kā: prathamāś

⁵⁶ Kā: sātaudavāḥ

⁵⁷ Pa_c, Gu_c: tva

⁵⁸ Kā: devi

⁵⁹ Kā: rodhasī; Pa_c: rohasī

⁶⁰ Kā: yāprṇāmī; Gu_c: āprṇāsi

⁶¹ Kā: ṛcam̄; Kā_{sm}: ṛḍam̄; Ma_{2c}: rutam̄

⁶² Kā: om.

⁶³ Kā: śrony; Mā_{1c}: sronī

⁶⁴ Kā: aut

⁶⁵ Kā: saktau; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sakthau

⁶⁶ Kā: tanvau; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tavau

⁶⁷ Kā: jo; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yo

⁶⁸ Kā: ud; Gu_c: ta; Ma_{1c}: om.

⁶⁹ Kā: om. |

⁷⁰ Kā: aniṣṭha; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: anuṣṭu

⁷¹ Kā: ān

⁷² Kā: i

⁷³ Mā_{1c}: ārśve; Gu_c: parśve

⁷⁴ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sarvā

⁷⁵ Kā: lokām̄; B_T: lokań; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: lokām̄

⁷⁶ Kā: śataudanā

⁷⁷ Mā_{1c} marks this verse as the end of the hymn with the usual marking ||6||ṛ10||. The manuscript marks this verse as 10 verses even though there are clearly 8 stanzas.

78 cakṣuṣmatī ⁷⁹ prathamā śataudanā sūryo ha cakṣur ⁸⁰ uta ⁸¹	11-12
candramāś ⁸² tava	
viśvair ⁸³ devair ⁸⁴ ṛtubhis ⁸⁵ + sam ⁸⁶ vidāna ⁸⁷ sā dattaram trptiya	11-11
tarpayāsi ⁸⁸ 9	
89 śatam payāmsi ⁹⁰ śatam ⁹¹ asyā ⁹² vatsāś ⁹³ śatadhā ⁹⁴ pakvām ⁹⁵ vi	11-11
bhajantīy enām ⁹⁶	
sapta lokā divy ārpita ⁹⁷ *etān ⁹⁸ jigetha ⁹⁹ prathama ¹⁰⁰	
śataudane 10	8-12

⁷⁸ 14.6.9; Mā_{1c}: om.

⁷⁹ Kā: cakṣuṣmatīḥ

⁸⁰ Pa_c, Gu_c: cakṣur-

⁸¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: ta

⁸² Kā: candramas

⁸³ Kā: viśver; Kā_{sm}: viśvair

⁸⁴ Pa_c: devaiḥ

⁸⁵ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛtubhiḥ; Ma_{2c}: rutubhiḥ

⁸⁶ Kā: ca; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sam

⁸⁷ Kā: naddhāś

⁸⁸ Kā: tarpayāmi; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: tarpayāsi

⁸⁹ 14.6.10; Mā_{1c}: om.

⁹⁰ Kā: payānsi; Br: payānsi

⁹¹ Ma_{2c}: satam; Gu_c: satamam

⁹² Pa_c is illegible; Gu_c: syā

⁹³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vatsāḥ

⁹⁴ Gu_c: śatadhām

⁹⁵ Pa_c: pak??m

⁹⁶ Kā: om. |

⁹⁷ Kā: anpitā; Ma_{2c}: ār?itrā

⁹⁸ Kā, Mā_{1c}: etām; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yetām

⁹⁹ Kā: jigeta

¹⁰⁰ Kā: prathamaś

sahasreṇā ¹ śatamānā yad eṣī lokāṁ ² jigetha ³ prathamā śataudane ⁴	11-12
sarvavedasam ⁵ uta ⁶ vājapeyam +sarvāṁ ⁷ llokāṁ ⁸ śataudana ⁹ samāpa 1	11-11
+indrah ¹⁰ papātha ¹¹ +prathamaś ¹² śataudanāṁ ¹³ sapta +ṛṣibhyas ¹⁴ sumanas _i yamānah	12-12
tayāsurāṇāṁ ¹⁵ balam oja ādade ¹⁶ taya ¹⁷ ruroha ¹⁸ viṣṭapo ¹⁹ devalokāṁ ²⁰ 2	12-12

¹ Mā_{1c}: śahasreṇā

² B_T: lokān

³ Kā: jigeta

⁴ Kā: om. |

⁵ Mā_{1c}: sarvavedaś

⁶ Kā: itu

⁷ Kā: sarvāṁ; Mā_{1c}: sarva; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sarvāl

⁸ Kā: lokāṁ; B_T: lokān, Mā_{1c}: lobhāṁ

⁹ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: chataudanāṁ

¹⁰ Kā: indra; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: indrah

¹¹ Kā: prapātha; Mā_{1c}: pāpā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: papāta

¹² Kā: prathamaś; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: prathamah

¹³ Kā: śataudanāś

¹⁴ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛṣabhyah; Ma_{2c}: ruṣibhyah

¹⁵ Kā: bhayasurāṇāṁ; Mā_{1c}: tayāsurāṇāṁ; Pa_c: tayāsurāṇā

¹⁶ Kā: ādadhe

¹⁷ Kā: bhaya

¹⁸ Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṣroha

¹⁹ Kā: viṣṭhapo

²⁰ Kā: devalokāṁ; B_T: devalokān

viśvāmitro ²¹ 'yam ²² jamadagnir ²³ atrir ²⁴ bharadvājo gotamo ²⁵	11-11
[']yam vasiṣṭhah ²⁶	
idam + pakvām ²⁷ kaśiyapas ²⁸ saptamāḥ prāśnantu prathamāś ²⁹	
śataudanām ³⁰ 3	11-11
jyotiṣmatī ³¹ prathamā ³² śataudanā ³³ trīṇi jyotiṣmī ³⁴ kṛṇute	11-12
sūvaryati	
tām ³⁵ dātāra ³⁶ upajīvanti ³⁷ yatra ³⁸ tatra ³⁹ + devais ⁴⁰ sadhamādām ⁴¹	
madanti ⁴² 4	11-11

²¹ Kā: viśvāmittro

²² Kā: yam

²³ Mā_{1c}: yamadagnir

²⁴ Kā: attrir

²⁵ Kā: gautamo

²⁶ Kā: vaiṣṭhah; Pa_c, Gu_c: vaśiṣṭhaś. In Pa_c and Gu_c, the verse is not followed by the usual daṇḍa, but rather continues with the next verse.

²⁷ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: pakvām

²⁸ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: kaśyapa

²⁹ Mā_{2c}: prathamā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: prathamāḥ

³⁰ Kā: śataudane

³¹ Kā: jyotiṣmatīḥ

³² Kā: prathamāś; Ma_{2c}: pratha??

³³ Kā: śataudanāś

³⁴ Kā: jyotiṣmī; B_T: jyotiṣṇī

³⁵ Mā_{1c}: missing

³⁶ Kā: dātāram; Mā_{1c}: ādatātāra

³⁷ Mā_{1c}: upajīvanti

³⁸ Kā: tatra

³⁹ Kā: yatra

⁴⁰ Kā: devaiḥ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: devaiḥ

⁴¹ Kā: sadhamānām

⁴² Kā: padam̄ti

chandaḥpakṣa ⁴³ br̥hatī ⁴⁴ śataudanā ⁴⁵ tr̥ṇi chandāṁsi ⁴⁶ sasṛje ⁴⁷	11-12
s̥varyatī ṛtūnām ⁴⁸ adhirājam ⁴⁹ saṁvatsaram ⁵⁰ patim ⁵¹ as̥iyā ⁵²	11-8
+avindan ⁵³ 5	
atikrami yāgniṣṭomam ⁵⁴ atirātram śataudane ⁵⁵	8-8
yajñāṁs ⁵⁶ tvam̥ sarvān̥ ḍptuvā- -cityam ⁵⁷ agnim ⁵⁸ vy ⁵⁹	
aśnuhi ⁶⁰ 6	8-8

⁴³ Kā: chandaḥpaksād

⁴⁴ Kā: vṛ̥hatī

⁴⁵ Kā: śrutadanās

⁴⁶ Kā: śchandāṁsi; B_T: śchandānsi

⁴⁷ Mā_{1c}: svasṛje

⁴⁸ Ma_{2c}: rutūnām

⁴⁹ Kā: adhirājan

⁵⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: samvatsaram

⁵¹ Pa_c: pati

⁵² Pa_c: om.

⁵³ Kā: asyādhivam; Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: asyāvindan; Pa_c: vindan

⁵⁴ Kā: abhikrandasyāgniṣṭoma

⁵⁵ Kā: om. |

⁵⁶ Kā, Mā_{1c}: yajñās

⁵⁷ Kā: -dityam

⁵⁸ Pa_c, Gu_c: agni

⁵⁹ Kā: vi

⁶⁰ Kā: śnuhi

aśvamedhyam⁶¹ atikramya | dvādaśāham̄ śataudane | 8-8
 trirātram̄ +sāhnam⁶² āptuvā | vajapeyena⁶³ kalpate⁶⁴ ||7|| 8-8

ye sahasrair⁶⁵ ijānā | agnihotrahutāś⁶⁶ ca ye | 7-8
 yajñair⁶⁷ ye sarvair⁶⁸ ijānās⁶⁹ | tān āpnoti śataudanā ||8|| 8-8

⁶¹ Pa_c, Gu_c: aśvameddhām

⁶² Kā: sānum; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sahṇam

⁶³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vajapeyen.

⁶⁴ Gu_c: kal??t?

⁶⁵ Kā: sahasrer; Mā_{1c}: sahasr?r, the pṛṣṭamatra element of -ai- namely -e- is missing.

⁶⁶ Kā: -agnihotrahutāś

⁶⁷ Kā: yajñe

⁶⁸ Kā: sarver

⁶⁹ Ma_{2c}: ijānā

śam ⁷⁰ te parūṁṣi ⁷¹ subhage dadhāmi ⁷² śam ⁷³ te māṁsāṇīy ⁷⁴	11-11
ṛtuthā ⁷⁵ bhavanti	
asthi yat te · śamitā śāśāra ⁷⁶ tat ⁷⁷ te tvaṣṭā vihṛtam ⁷⁸ niṣ kṛṇotu ⁷⁹ 9	10-11
ye yajñena jitā lokā yān u chandāṁsi ⁸⁰ bhejire ⁸¹ sarvāṁs ⁸² + tāṁ ⁸³ llokān āpnoti yo dadāti śataudanāṁ ⁸⁴ 10	8-8 8-8

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śan

⁷¹ Kā: parūṁṣi; B_T: parū̄nsi; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: paṛmṣi; Ma_{2c}: parumṣi

⁷² Kā: dadāmi

⁷³ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śan

⁷⁴ Kā: māṁsā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: māṁsanv; Gu_c: māṁnya

⁷⁵ Kā: ṛdāda; Mā_{1c}: attadhā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: attadthā; Gu_c: rathā; Bh: attathā

⁷⁶ Kā: cacārat

⁷⁷ Kā: om.

⁷⁸ Kā: vihṛjam; Ma_{2c}: vibhṛtaśrīrāvihṛtam

⁷⁹ Kā: kṛṇatu

⁸⁰ Kā: śchandāṁsi; B_T :ścandaṇsi

⁸¹ Kā: om. |

⁸² Kā: sarvāṁs; B_T: sarvāṇīs

⁸³ Kā: tāṁ; B_T: tāṁ; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tā

⁸⁴ Kā: śataudanā

¹iśirā² yoṣā³ yuvatir⁴ +damūnā⁵ || rātri⁶ devasya⁷ savitur⁸
 bhagasya-⁹ |¹⁰
 -aśvakṣubhā¹¹ suhavā¹² saṁbhṛtaśrīr¹³ || ā¹⁴ paprau¹⁵ dyāvāpṛthivī¹⁶
 mahitvā¹⁷ ||1||¹⁸

11-11

11-11

¹ = PSK 14.4.1 = SS 14.49.1

² SS, SS_{SPP}: iśirā

³ Kā: yūkha; Pa_c, Gu_c: yoṣam; SS, SS_{SPP}: yoṣā

⁴ Gu_c: yuvatir; SS, SS_{SPP}: yuvatir

⁵ Kā: damūnām; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: damunā; SS, SS_{SPP}: dámūnā

⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: rātri

⁷ SS, SS_{SPP}: devasya

⁸ Mā_{1c}: savitu; SS, SS_{SPP}: savitúr

⁹ SS, SS_{SPP}: bhágasya

¹⁰ Kā: om. |

¹¹ Kā: -aśvakṣarā; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aśvakṣatā; SS: -viśvavyacāḥ;
 SS_{SPP}: aśvakṣabhā

¹² SS, SS_{SPP}: suhavā

¹³ Kā: saṁbhṛtaḥśrī; Gu_c: saṁbhutaśrīr; SS, SS_{SPP}: sáṁbhṛtaśrīr

¹⁴ SS, SS_{SPP}: ā

¹⁵ Kā: babhror; SS, SS_{SPP}: paprau

¹⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: dyāvāpṛthivī

¹⁷ SS: mahitvā

¹⁸ Kā: |

¹⁹ ava²⁰ viśvān_iy²¹ aruhad²² gabhīrā-²³ [] -ud²⁴ varṣiṣṭham²⁵ aruhad²⁶
 aśramiṣṭha²⁷ |
 uśati²⁸ rātr_iy²⁹ anu³⁰ sānu³¹ bhadrā³² [] vi³³ tiṣṭhate³⁴ mitra³⁵ iva³⁶
 svadhābhīḥ³⁷ ||2||³⁸

11-11
11-11

¹⁹ = PSK 14.4.2 = ŠS 19.49.2

²⁰ Kā: abhi; Ma_{2c}: ap(← v)a; Pa_c: apa; ŠS: adhi; ŠS_{SPP}: ati

²¹ Kā: viśvām; Pa_c: viśvān; ŠS: viśvāny

²² Kā: arhad; Mā_{1c}: arhaṇ; Ma_{2c}: aruhaṇ; Pa_c: avaraḥad; Gu_c: aṛhan; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: aruhad;

²³ Gu_c: gambhīrā-; ŠS: gabhīrā; ŠS_{SPP}: gambhīro

²⁴ ŠS_{SPP}: om.

²⁵ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}: variṣiṣṭam; Pa_c: variṣiṣṭām; Gu_c: avṛṣiṣṭam; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: várṣiṣṭham

²⁶ Kā: arhad; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: arhad; ŠS: dyām aruhac; ŠS_{SPP}: aruhanta

²⁷ Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: aśramiṣṭā; ŠS: chaviṣṭhā; ŠS_{SPP}: śraviṣṭhāḥ

²⁸ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: uśatī

²⁹ Kā: rātny; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: rātry

³⁰ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: anu

³¹ Kā: avasān; ŠS: mā; ŠS_{SPP}: sā

³² Pa_c, Gu_c: bhadrā; ŠS: bhadrābhīr; ŠS_{SPP}: bhadrābhī

³³ ŠS: ví; ŠS_{SPP}: om.

³⁴ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: tiṣṭhate

³⁵ Kā: mittra; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: mitrā

³⁶ Kā: ina; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: iva

³⁷ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: svadhābhīḥ

³⁸ Kā: om. z

³⁹⁺vāriye⁴⁰ vandye⁴¹ subhage⁴² sujāta⁴³ || * achāgan⁴⁴ rātri⁴⁵
 sumanā⁴⁶ iha⁴⁷ syāḥ⁴⁸ |⁴⁹
 asmāṁś⁵⁰ trāyasva⁵¹ niryāṇī⁵² jātā⁵³ || sūvā⁵⁴ yāni⁵⁵ · gavyāni⁵⁶
 puṣṭā⁵⁷ ||3||

11-11

11-10

³⁹ = PSK 14.4.3 = SS 19.49.3

⁴⁰ Kā: niryai; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: narye; SS, SS_{SPP}: várье

⁴¹ Kā: vamde; Pa_c: vande; SS: vández; SS_{SPP}: vande

⁴² Ma_c: subhato; SS, SS_{SPP}: súbhage

⁴³ Kā: svajātā; SS, SS_{SPP}: sújāta

⁴⁴ Kā: cāgni; Mā_{1c}: ātāgan; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ācāgan; SS: ajagan; SS_{SPP}: ājagan,

⁴⁵ SS, SS_{SPP}: rātri

⁴⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: sumánā

⁴⁷ Kā: hya: SS, SS_{SPP}: ihá

⁴⁸ SS: syāḥ; SS_{SPP}: syām

⁴⁹ Kā: om. |

⁵⁰ Kā: asmā; SS, SS_{SPP}: asmāṁś

⁵¹ Kā: dhūyasva; SS, SS_{SPP}: trāyasva

⁵² Kā: niryāṇī; SS, SS_{SPP}: náryāṇī

⁵³ SS, SS_{SPP}: jātā

⁵⁴ Kā: śriya; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śvā; SS, SS_{SPP}: átho

⁵⁵ SS, SS_{SPP}: yāni

⁵⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: gávyāni

⁵⁷ Kā: puṣṭya; Ma_{2c}: p?ṣṭa; SS: púṣṭhā; SS_{SPP}: puṣṭhyā

⁵⁸ simhasya⁵⁹ rātri_iy⁶⁰ uśati⁶¹ piśasya⁶² [] vyāghras_iya⁶³ dvīpino⁶⁴
 varca⁶⁵ ā⁶⁶ dade⁶⁷ |
 aśvasya⁶⁸ bradhnam⁶⁹ puruṣasya⁷⁰ *māyām⁷¹ [] pururūpāṇi⁷²
 kṛnuṣe⁷³ vibhati⁷⁴ ||4||

11-12

11-11

⁵⁸ = PSk 14.4.4 = ŠS 19.49.4

⁵⁹ Kā: simhasya; B_T: siñhasya; Mā_{1c}: sihamṣya; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: simhásya

⁶⁰ Kā: rātri; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: rātry

⁶¹ Kā: uśati ; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: uśatí

⁶² Kā: nipasya; ŠS: piśasya; ŠS_{SPP}: pīṇṣasya

⁶³ Mā_{1c}: vryāghrasya; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: vyāghrásya

⁶⁴ Kā: dvepano; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: dvīpíno

⁶⁵ Mā_{1c}: varcha; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: várca

⁶⁶ Kā: om.; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: ā

⁶⁷ Kā: dhe; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: dade

⁶⁸ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: aśvasya

⁶⁹ Kā: vradhnam; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: bradhnám

⁷⁰ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: puṛṣasya; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: púruṣasya

⁷¹ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: māyām; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: māyúm

⁷² Mā_{1c}: pāṛṭpāṇi; Gu_c: puṛṛpāṇi; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP} purú rūpāṇi

⁷³ Kā: kṛnuṣī; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: kṛnuṣe

⁷⁴ Ma_{2c}: viśatī; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: bibhātī

⁷⁵śivāṁ⁷⁶ rātrim⁷⁷ . ahni⁷⁸ sūriyañ⁷⁹ ca⁸⁰ [] himasya⁸¹ mātā⁸²
 suhava⁸³ no⁸⁴ astu⁸⁵ |⁸⁶
 asya⁸⁷ stomasya⁸⁸ subhage⁸⁹ ni⁹⁰ bodha⁹¹ [] ena⁹² tuvā⁹³ vande⁹⁴
 viśvāsu⁹⁵ dikṣu⁹⁶ ||5||

10-11

11-11

⁷⁵ = PSK 14.4.5 = SS 19.49.5

⁷⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: śivāṁ

⁷⁷ Pa_c: rātrim; SS, SS_{SPP}: rátrim

⁷⁸ SS: anva; SS_{SPP}: anu

⁷⁹ Kā: sūryam; SS, SS_{SPP}: sūryám

⁸⁰ SS, SS_{SPP}: ca

⁸¹ Kā: yamasya; SS, SS_{SPP}: himásyā

⁸² SS, SS_{SPP}: mātā

⁸³ Kā: subhavā; Pa_c: sū??vī; Gu_c: sahavā; SS, SS_{SPP}: suhávā

⁸⁴ SS, SS_{SPP}: no

⁸⁵ SS, SS_{SPP}: astu

⁸⁶ Kā: z

⁸⁷ Kā: aśva; SS, SS_{SPP}: asyá

⁸⁸ SS, SS_{SPP}: stómasya

⁸⁹ SS, SS_{SPP}: subhage

⁹⁰ Kā: va; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: na; SS, SS_{SPP}: ní

⁹¹ Kā: todha; SS, SS_{SPP}: bodha

⁹² Kā: yeranu; SS, SS_{SPP}: yéna

⁹³ SS, SS_{SPP}: tvā

⁹⁴ SS, SS_{SPP}: vández

⁹⁵ Kā: viśvāse; SS, SS_{SPP}: vísvāsu

⁹⁶ Kā: vikṣu; SS, SS_{SPP}: dikṣú

⁹⁷ stomasya ⁹⁸ no ⁹⁹ vibhāvari ¹⁰⁰ [] rātri ¹⁰¹ rājeva ¹⁰² joṣasai ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ asāma ¹⁰⁵ sarvavīra ¹⁰⁶ [] bhavāma ¹⁰⁷ sarvavedaso ¹⁰⁸ viyuchantīr ¹⁰⁹ anūṣasah ¹¹⁰ 6	8-8 7-8 8
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⁹⁷ = PSK 14.4.6 = SS 19.49.6

⁹⁸ SS, SS_{SPP}: stómasya

⁹⁹ SS, SS_{SPP}: no

¹⁰⁰ SS, SS_{SPP}: vibhāvari

¹⁰¹ SS, SS_{SPP}: rātri

¹⁰² SS, SS_{SPP}: rājeva

¹⁰³ Kā: moṣasi; SS, SS_{SPP}: joṣase

¹⁰⁴ Kā: om. |

¹⁰⁵ Kā: yathānah; SS, SS_{SPP}: ásāma

¹⁰⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: sárvavīra

¹⁰⁷ Kā: bhavāmah: SS, SS_{SPP}: bhávāma

¹⁰⁸ Ma_{2c}: sa?vavedaso; SS, SS_{SPP}: sárvavedaso

¹⁰⁹ Kā: viśchantīn; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: vyutsantīr; SS, SS_{SPP}: vyuchántīr

¹¹⁰ Kā: anukamah; SS: anūṣasah

111 *śamsya¹¹² ha¹¹³ nama¹¹⁴ dadhiṣe¹¹⁵ [] mama¹¹⁶ dipsanti¹¹⁷ ye¹¹⁸
 dhana¹¹⁹ | 8-8
 rātri¹²⁰ hita¹²¹ + nas¹²² *sudapa¹²³ [] .atha¹²⁴ steno¹²⁵ na¹²⁶
 vidyate¹²⁷ |¹²⁸ 8-8
 atha¹²⁹ ripur¹³⁰ na¹³¹ vidyate¹³² ||7||¹³³ 8

¹¹¹ = PSK 14.4.7 = SS 19.49.7

¹¹² Mā_{1c}: samyā; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śamyā; SS: rāmyā; SS_{SPP}: śámyā

¹¹³ SS: iha; SS_{SPP}: ha

¹¹⁴ Ma_{2c}: mama; SS, SS_{SPP}: náma

¹¹⁵ Kā: taruṣe; SS, SS_{SPP}: dadhiṣé

¹¹⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: máma

¹¹⁷ Kā: viprśchantī; SS, SS_{SPP}: dípsanti

¹¹⁸ Kā: yo; SS, SS_{SPP}: yé

¹¹⁹ Kā: janām; SS, SS_{SPP}: dhánā

¹²⁰ Kā: rātri; Pa_c, Gu_c: rātrīr; SS: rātry; SS_{SPP}: rātri-

¹²¹ Kā: hīrcan; SS; ha; SS_{SPP}: -hi

¹²² Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: na; SS, SS_{SPP}: tān

¹²³ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: sadapā; SS: anu tapa; SS_{SPP}: asutapā

¹²⁴ Kā: -ata; SS: yáthā; SS_{SPP}: ya

¹²⁵ SS, SS_{SPP}: stenó

¹²⁶ SS: no; SS_{SPP}: na

¹²⁷ Kā: vibhyate; SS, SS_{SPP}: vidyáte

¹²⁸ Kā: |

¹²⁹ SS: yáthā; SS_{SPP}: yat

¹³⁰ Pa_c: ripu; SS, SS_{SPP}: púnar

¹³¹ Mā_{1c}: nna; Pa_c: nar; SS, SS_{SPP}: na

¹³² SS, SS_{SPP}: vidyáte

¹³³ Kā: |

¹³⁴bhadrāsi¹³⁵ rātri¹³⁶ camaso¹³⁷ na¹³⁸ piṣṭo¹³⁹ [!] viśvam¹⁴⁰
 gorūpam¹⁴¹ yuvatir¹⁴² bibharsi¹⁴³ |¹⁴⁴
 cakṣuṣmati¹⁴⁵ me¹⁴⁶ mr̥ṣati¹⁴⁷ vapūmṣi¹⁴⁸ [!] + prādityam¹⁴⁹
 + divyam¹⁵⁰ + rukmam¹⁵¹ amukthah¹⁵² ||8||¹⁵³

11-11

11-11

¹³⁴ = PSK 14.4.8 = SS 19.49.8

¹³⁵ SS, SS_{SPP}: bhadrāsi

¹³⁶ Kā: rātris; SS, SS_{SPP}: rātri

¹³⁷ Kā: tapaso; SS, SS_{SPP}: camasó

¹³⁸ Kā: nu; SS, SS_{SPP}: na

¹³⁹ Kā: viṣṭo; SS: piṣṭo; SS_{SPP}: biṣṭo

¹⁴⁰ SS: viśvāṅgám; SS_{SPP}: viśvam

¹⁴¹ Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: gorpam; SS: gám rūpám; SS_{SPP}: gorūpam

¹⁴² Kā: yuvatid; Ma_{2c}: yuvati; SS, SS_{SPP}: yuvatír

¹⁴³ Kā: vibharsi; SS, SS_{SPP}: bibharsi

¹⁴⁴ Kā: z

¹⁴⁵ SS: cákṣuṣmatim; SS_{SPP}: cákṣuṣmati

¹⁴⁶ Kā: ve; SS: ma; SS_{SPP}: me

¹⁴⁷ Kā: yuvati; Pa_c: mr̥satir; Gu_c: mr̥jatir; SS, SS_{SPP}: uśatí

¹⁴⁸ Kā: varūpah; SS, SS_{SPP}: vápūmṣi

¹⁴⁹ Kā: pratyam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: pradityam; SS, SS_{SPP}: prati tvám

¹⁵⁰ Kā: dityam divyam; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: divyam; SS: divyás;

SS_{SPP}: dīvyá

¹⁵¹ Kā: arukmam; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: ṛkmam; Ma_{2c}: rukmam; SS: tārakā;

SS_{SPP}: na kṣam

¹⁵² Kā: amugdhaḥ; SS, SS_{SPP}: amukthah

¹⁵³ Kā: |

yo¹⁵⁴ adya¹⁵⁵ stena¹⁵⁷ áyat¹⁵⁸ || aghayur¹⁵⁹ mṛtyo¹⁶⁰ ripuh¹⁶¹ |¹⁶² 8-8
 rātri¹⁶³ tasya¹⁶⁴ pratīt¹⁶⁵ || pra¹⁶⁶ + grīvāḥ¹⁶⁷ pra¹⁶⁸ śiro¹⁶⁹ 8-8
 hanat¹⁷⁰ ||9||

¹⁵⁴ = PSK 14.4.9 = SS 19.49.9

¹⁵⁵ Kā: *yu*; SS, SS_{SPP}: *yo*

¹⁵⁶ Kā: *bhya*; SS, SS_{SPP}: *adyá*

¹⁵⁷ Kā: *stenā*; SS, SS_{SPP}: *stena*

¹⁵⁸ Kā: *yutv*; Ma_{2c}: *aya??*, manuscript is damaged; SS, SS_{SPP}: *áyat^y*

¹⁵⁹ Kā: *aghāyu*; Ma_{2c}: *???yur*; SS, SS_{SPP}: *aghāyúr*

¹⁶⁰ Ma_{2c}: *??yo*; SS, SS_{SPP}: *mártyo*

¹⁶¹ SS SS_{SPP}: *ripúh*

¹⁶² Kā: om. |

¹⁶³ SS, SS_{SPP}: *rātri*

¹⁶⁴ SS, SS_{SPP}: *tasya*

¹⁶⁵ Kā: *pragīyasva*; Gu_c: *pratyatya*; SS, SS_{SPP}: *pratītya*

¹⁶⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: *prá*

¹⁶⁷ Kā: *gīvā*; Ma_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: *grīvā*; Gu_c: *sīvā*; SS, SS_{SPP}: *grīvāḥ*

¹⁶⁸ SS, SS_{SPP}: *prá*

¹⁶⁹ Pa_c: *giro*; SS: *śíro*

¹⁷⁰ SS, SS_{SPP}: *hanat_{\text{1}}*

¹⁷¹ pra¹⁷² pādau¹⁷³ na¹⁷⁴ yathāyati¹⁷⁵ | pra¹⁷⁶ hastau¹⁷⁷ na¹⁷⁸
 yathāsiṣat¹⁷⁹ | yo¹⁸⁰ + malimlur¹⁸¹ upāyati¹⁸² | sa¹⁸³ sāmpiṣṭo¹⁸⁴ apāyati¹⁸⁵ |¹⁸⁶
 apāyati¹⁸⁷ sv¹⁸⁸ apāyati¹⁸⁹ | śuṣke¹⁹⁰ sthāṇav¹⁹¹ apāyati¹⁹² ||10||

8-8
8-8
8-8

¹⁷¹ = PSK 14.4.10 = SS 19.49.10

¹⁷² ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: prá

¹⁷³ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: pādau

¹⁷⁴ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: na

¹⁷⁵ Kā: yataḥataḥ; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yathāyati; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: yathāyati

¹⁷⁶ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: prá

¹⁷⁷ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: hástau

¹⁷⁸ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: na

¹⁷⁹ Kā: yanāsiṣat; ŠS: yáthā ríṣat; ŠS_{SPP}: yathā siṣat,

¹⁸⁰ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: yó

¹⁸¹ Kā: mulalam; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: malimalr; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c: malimalar;
 ŠS, ŠS_{SPP} : malimlúr

¹⁸² Kā: sulapāyati; Mā_{1c}, Gu_c: pāyati; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: upāyati

¹⁸³ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: sa

¹⁸⁴ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: sāmpiṣṭo

¹⁸⁵ Kā: tapāyati; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: ápāyati

¹⁸⁶ Kā: om. |

¹⁸⁷ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: ápāyati

¹⁸⁸ Kā: om.; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: sv

¹⁸⁹ Kā: om.; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: ápayati

¹⁹⁰ Kā: om.; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: śúkṣe

¹⁹¹ Kā: om.; ŠS: sthalé; ŠS_{SPP}: sthāṇav

¹⁹² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Gu_c: apāyata; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: ápāyati

¹andhaṁ² rātri³ * tṛṣṭadhūmam⁴ || aśīrṣāṇam⁵ ahim⁶ kṛṇu⁷ |⁸
akṣau⁹ vṛkasya¹⁰ nirjahy¹¹ ā¹² stenam¹³ drupade¹⁴ jahi¹⁵ ||1||¹⁶ 8-8
8-8

¹⁷ye¹⁸ te¹⁹ rātry²⁰ anaḍvāhas²¹ || + tīkṣṇāśṛṅgāḥ²² sūvāśavah²³ |²⁴
tebhīr²⁵ no²⁶ adya²⁷ pārayā-²⁸ || -āti²⁹ durgāṇi³⁰ viśvahā³¹ ||2|| 8-8
8-8

¹ = PSK 14.4.11 = SS 19.50.1

² Kā: om.; SS: ándhaṁ; SS_{SPP}: adha

³ Kā: om.; SS, SS_{SPP}: rātri

⁴ Kā, Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tiṣṭhadhūmam; SS, SS_{SPP}: tṛṣṭádhūmam

⁵ Ma_{2c}: aśīrṣāṇam; SS, SS_{SPP}: aśīrṣāṇam

⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: áhim

⁷ SS, SS_{SPP}: kṛṇu

⁸ Kā: om. |

⁹ Kā: hano; SS: akṣyāu; SS_{SPP}: akṣau

¹⁰ SS, SS_{SPP}: vṛkasya

¹¹ Pa_c: nihṛāś; SS, SS_{SPP}: nírjahy

¹² Pa_c: om.; SS, SS_{SPP}: ā

¹³ Kā: tvainaṁ; SS: stenāṁ; SS_{SPP}: stena tam

¹⁴ Kā: nr̥pate; Mā_{1c}: dapade; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: dupade; SS, SS_{SPP}: drupadē

¹⁵ SS, SS_{SPP}: jahi

¹⁶ Kā: |

¹⁷ = PSK 14.4.12 = SS 19.50.2

¹⁸ Kā: e; SS, SS_{SPP}: yé

¹⁹ SS, SS_{SPP}: te

²⁰ Kā: rātriy; SS, SS_{SPP}: rātry

²¹ SS, SS_{SPP}: anaḍvāhas

²² Kā: tīkṣṇāśṛṅgy; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: tīkṣṇāśṛṅgāḥ; SS, SS_{SPP}: tīkṣṇāśṛṅgāḥ

²³ Kā: aśvāśavah; SS, SS_{SPP}: svāśavah

²⁴ Kā: om. |

²⁵ Kā: tebhīn; SS, SS_{SPP}: tébhīr

²⁶ Kā: no

²⁷ SS, SS_{SPP}: adyā

²⁸ SS, SS_{SPP}: pāraya-

²⁹ SS, SS_{SPP}: -āti

³⁰ SS, SS_{SPP}: durgāṇi

³¹ Kā: viśvaha; SS, SS_{SPP}: viśvāhā

³² rātrim-rātrim³³ arisyantas³⁴ || tarema³⁵ tanuvā³⁶ vayam³⁷ |³⁸ 8-8
gambhīram³⁹ aplava⁴⁰ iva⁴¹ || na⁴² tareyur⁴³ arātayah⁴⁴ ||3||⁴⁵ 8-8

⁴⁶ yathā⁴⁷ + śyāmakah⁴⁸ prapatan⁴⁹ || pred + divā⁵⁰ nānu⁵¹ vidyate⁵² | 8-8
evā⁵³ rātri⁵⁴ pra⁵⁵ pātaya⁵⁶ || yo⁵⁷ asmān⁵⁸ abhyaghāyatī⁵⁹ ||4|| 8-8

³² = PSK 14.4.13 = SS 19.50.3

³³ Kā: ratrim-rātris ; Ma_{2c}: ratrim-ratrim; SS, SS_{SPP}: rātrim-rātrim

³⁴ SS, SS_{SPP}: áriṣyantas

³⁵ Kā: tadema; SS, SS_{SPP}: tārema

³⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: tanvā

³⁷ Mā_{1c}: [????]ṁ; the manuscript seems to have been misplaced during photo-copying so that the two ākṣara-s at the beginning of the fourth line of text have been partially cut off; SS, SS_{SPP}: vayám

³⁸ Kā: om. |

³⁹ Mā_{1c}: gam?īram; SS, SS_{SPP}: gambhīrám

⁴⁰ Kā: apravā: SS, SS_{SPP}: áplavā

⁴¹ Kā: yuṣam; SS, SS_{SPP}: iva

⁴² SS, SS_{SPP}: ná

⁴³ Kā: tarehur; SS, SS_{SPP}: tareyur

⁴⁴ SS, SS_{SPP}: árātayah

⁴⁵ Kā: om. |

⁴⁶ = PSK 14.4.14 = SS 19.50.4

⁴⁷ SS, SS_{SPP}: yáthā

⁴⁸ Kā: śānyakah; Mā_{1c}: sāmyakah; Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: śāmyakah;

SS, SS_{SPP}: śyāmakah

⁴⁹ Kā: prapatan; SS, SS_{SPP}: prapátann

⁵⁰ Kā: tediavam; Ma_{2c}: pretivan; Ma_{2cSM}: predivān; SS: aparám; SS_{SPP}: apava

⁵¹ SS, SS_{SPP}: nānu

⁵² SS, SS_{SPP}: vidyáte

⁵³ SS, SS_{SPP}: evā

⁵⁴ SS, SS_{SPP}: rātri

⁵⁵ SS, SS_{SPP}: prá

⁵⁶ SS, SS_{SPP}: pātaya

⁵⁷ SS, SS_{SPP}: yó

⁵⁸ Kā: smān; SS, SS_{SPP}: asmān

⁵⁹ Kā: abhyagāyatī; SS, SS_{SPP}: abhyadhāyati

⁶⁰ apa ⁶¹ stenam̄ ⁶² vāsomatham ⁶³ goajam ⁶⁴ uta ⁶⁵ taskaram ⁶⁶ atho ⁶⁷ yo ⁶⁸ + arvatas ⁶⁹ śiro ⁷⁰ *bhidhāya ⁷¹ niniṣati ⁷² 5 ⁷³	8-8 8-8
⁷⁴ yad ⁷⁵ adya ⁷⁶ rātri ⁷⁷ subhage ⁷⁸ vibhajanty ⁷⁹ ayo ⁸⁰ vasu ⁸¹ ⁸² *tad ehiy ⁸³ asmān ₁ ⁸⁴ bhrājay _a ⁸⁵ -a thed ⁸⁶ anyan ⁸⁷ upāyasi ⁸⁸ 6 ⁸⁹	8-8 8-8

⁶⁰ = PSK 14.4.15 = ŠS 19.50.5

⁶¹ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: ápa

⁶² Kā: tedenam̄; ŠS: stenám; ŠS_{SPP}: stenam̄

⁶³ ŠS: avāsayo; ŠS_{SPP}: vásó

⁶⁴ Kā: gomatham; ŠS: górájam; ŠS_{SPP}: goájam

⁶⁵ Kā: u; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: utá

⁶⁶ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: táskaram̄

⁶⁷ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: átho

⁶⁸ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: yó

⁶⁹ Kā: urvataś; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: arvataḥ; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: árvataḥ

⁷⁰ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: śiro

⁷¹ Kā: midhāya; Mā_{1c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: 'bhyadaya; Ma_{2c}: 'dhāya; ŠS: 'bhidhāya;
ŠS_{SPP}: bhidhāya

⁷² ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: niniṣati

⁷³ Kā: |

⁷⁴ = PSK 14.4.16 = ŠS 19.50.6

⁷⁵ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: yád

⁷⁶ Kā: advi; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: adyá

⁷⁷ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: rātri

⁷⁸ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: subhage

⁷⁹ Kā: vibhajant; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: vibhájanty

⁸⁰ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: áyo

⁸¹ Kā: vasuh; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: vásu

⁸² Kā: om. |

⁸³ Kā: yathed; Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: yad ehy; ŠS: tág etád; ŠS_{SPP}: yád etád

⁸⁴ Kā, Ma_{2c}: asmān; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: asmán

⁸⁵ Kā: itājayā; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: bhojaya

⁸⁶ Kā: yathed; ŠS: yāthedam̄; ŠS_{SPP}: yāthed

⁸⁷ ŠS: na-; ŠS_{SPP}: anyan

⁸⁸ Kā: upāyati; ŠS: -apáyati; ŠS_{SPP}: upā yasi

⁸⁹ Kā: |

⁹⁰uṣase⁹¹ nah⁹² pari⁹³ dehi⁹⁴ || sarvān⁹⁵ rātri�⁹⁶ anāgasah⁹⁷ |⁹⁸
 uṣā⁹⁹ no¹⁰⁰ ahna¹⁰¹ ā¹⁰² bhajad¹⁰³ || ahas¹⁰⁴ tubhyam¹⁰⁵
 vibhāvari¹⁰⁶ ||7||¹⁰⁷

8-8

8-8

⁹⁰=PSK 14.4.17 = SS 19.50.7

⁹¹ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: uṣāse

⁹² Mā_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c, Gu_c: nah; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: nah

⁹³ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: pári

⁹⁴ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: dehi

⁹⁵ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: sárvān

⁹⁶ Kā: rātri; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: rātry

⁹⁷ Kā: anākaśa; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: anāgásah

⁹⁸ Kā: om. |

⁹⁹ Kā: juṣā; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: uṣā

¹⁰⁰ ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: no

¹⁰¹ Kā: ahna-; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: áhna

¹⁰² Kā: om.; ŠS, ŠS_{SPP}: á

¹⁰³ ŠS: bhajad

¹⁰⁴ ŠS: áhas

¹⁰⁵ Gu_c: tabhyam; ŠS: túbhyam

¹⁰⁶ ŠS: v ibhāvari

¹⁰⁷ Kā: zz zz ity atharvaṇikapaippalādayaś śākhayam caturdaśah kāñḍas
 samāptah zz zz; Mā_{1c}: saptadaśarcacakāñḍah samāptah;
 Ma_{2c}: saptadaśarcacakāñḍah; Pa_c: iti paippalādasamhitayam saptadaśarcocyor
 nāś 14rddha kāñḍah samāptah; Gu_c: iti saptadaśarcacakāñḍah samāptah

The Rājasūya Waters: PS 14 1 - 2

The ‘divine waters’ are worshipped only in few hymns in the RV, but they are referred to quite often throughout the RV. Under the term ‘waters’ are included flowing waters, regardless of their place or origin, but especially the flowing waters of rivers. These are generally referred to in the context of the Vṛtra myth in which Indra releases the waters being enclosed by Vṛtra. This is one of the fundamental cosmogonic myths of the RV. The waters, being allowed to flow forth, make life possible – rivers, rain, cattle, and progeny. Waters, and flowing waters, also cleanse and purify. They wash away that which ‘sticks’ to the body and defiles the person such as evil (*enas, pāpa*) and disease. They grant remedies and long life.

The present hymn focuses on a specific type of water, namely the waters that are used or produced for the Rājasūya ritual.¹ This royal ritual, which may have existed as a counterpart to the Yajurvedic Aśvamedha in the basic paradigms of the *mahābhiseka* (AB) and *ekarājābhiseka* (AB), was intended for a king to gain supremacy over other (petty) kings, and thus place him in the position of “king of kings” or emperor. The present hymn is thus an Atharvavedic counterpart of the yearlong classical Rājasūya. The material preserved in this hymn, along with the royal coronation material contained in PS 10,² shows the form of the PS ‘coronation’

¹ On the Rājasūya ritual, see Weber (1893), Schlerath (1960), Heesterman (1957) and H. Kulke (1992).

² PS 10 is presently being studied by Y. Tsuchiyama at Hokkaido University.

ritual is that of a simple *sava*.³ A *sava* is a class of one-day (*ekāha*) rituals that follow the basic Soma paradigm in which an unction (*abhiṣeka*) has been inserted. The unction is essentially an oblation involving consecrated water that is poured on the *yajamāna*. These rites are used on occasions where power is to be stimulated and influence is to be exerted. This ritual, which has been boxed in typical Vedic fashion by additional rituals, is at the core of the classical Rājasūya.

The relationship of Varuṇa to the waters,⁴ which are his specific domain, makes the unction waters of the Rājasūya different from the unction of other Vedic rituals. As compared with other rituals such as the Aśvamedha or Vājapeya where the unction water is a remainder of an oblationary fluid, in the Rājasūya, the waters are the central element of the ritual. In the classical Rājasūya, the unction water consists of 17 kinds of water that are mixed together and purified.⁵ According to Heesterman, the unction waters called *rājasūyāḥ*, is the characteristic feature of this *sava*, also known as Varuṇasava, and the term should be translated as ‘king-engendering’.⁶ This nucleus is found in other *sava*-s: *rājābhiṣeka* (ĀŚS), *mṛtyusava* (BŚS) or *punarabhiṣeka* (AB), *mahābhiṣeka* (AB), *ekarājābhiṣeka* and *laghvabhiṣeka* (KauŚS), *prathamābhiṣeka* (AVPar.).

³ See Gonda (1964) and Witzel (1987c).

⁴ See Lüders (1951).

⁵ See Heesterman (1957: 79–90).

⁶ Ibid., 86.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.1-2
Translation

With material contained in hymns like ŠS 4.8, this hymns highlights Atharvavedins' preoccupation with having some sort of coronation ritual for the king. However, the Paippalādins alone seem to have been so concerned with this as to produce an entire book, PS 10, dedicated to this type of coronation ritual.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.1
Translation

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 14.1

- 1 Attentive, with his two arms Indra, the foreknowing one brought the divine waters for Varuṇa.
All the Āditya-s anointed him (for themselves) as a strong king for great battle. Let the Rājasūya-waters help us!
- 2 [The golden colored, shining, pure (waters) in which Kaśyapa was born, in which Indra (was born), which (waters) having golden color became pregnant with Agni, let those tender waters be auspicious to us!]
- 3 In the midst of which (waters) King Varuṇa moves along looking down upon the truth and falsehood of people, which (waters) having golden color became pregnant with Agni, let those tender waters be auspicious to us!
- 4 Of which (waters) the gods make food in heaven, which (waters) exist manifoldly in the intermediate space, which (waters) having golden color became pregnant with Agni, let those tender waters be auspicious to us!
- 5 O waters, look upon me with a friendly eye. Touch my skin with a friendly manifestation.
Which (waters) are shining, pure (and) dripping with butter, let those tender waters be auspicious to us!]
- 6 They (the Ādityas) grasped (for themselves) the divine waters, which contain honey, the vigorous Rājasūya-waters that are nourishment. With which (waters) they anointed Mitra and Varuṇa, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 7 Impelled by Varuṇa, the radiant (waters) go. (Those waters) which are divine establish (for themselves) the golden well.
Which (waters), united by means of a poem, thoroughly cleanse (themselves), [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 8 They (Āditya-s) drive up the waters from lake to heaven. Which (waters) pour forth toward the earth from heaven, with which (waters) the Maruts, the lords, move along, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]

Paippālada Samhitā 14.1
Translation

- 9 Which (waters) carry immortality, which (waters carry) the beloved honey,
which (waters) the seers grasped in comradeship with the gods,
by means of which (waters) they lead Indra over adversities, [let the
Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 10 Which (waters) having riches for the living fill up the prize (of the contest)
for the one devoted to the gods, for the mortal one who bestows
(pious gifts).
Of which undecaying (waters) the fluid is undecaying, [let the Rājasūya-
waters help us!]

Paippālada Samhitā 14.2
Translation

Paippalāda Samhitā 14. 2

- 1 Being pure, having golden horns, leading banners, those (waters) which as milk-giving cows praise the lake,
which (waters) Parjanya carries in the intermediate space, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 2 When the lofty Rathantara (*sāman* is) being sung, they invigorate rulership. They prolong life-span.
With which (waters) they (Āditya-s) incite (the team) of three horses to win, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 3 Together with which (waters), Indra, the slayer of Vṛtra, (drank) Soma,
The ruler of wealth drank of the pressed (Soma).
Which (waters) the seven seers, the poets purify, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 4 The seven seers anointed Bharata (as king). On this one here, they placed the kingdom abounding in priestly gifts.
The gods impelled Manu for (the sake of) progeny. [Let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 5 With which (waters) the skillful ones sprinkle the east-facing sacrifice, with which (waters) they purify Soma, mixed with honey,
by means of which (waters) this (world) of living things lives, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 6 The drops of which (waters) became full of honey, which (waters) swell as honey, accorded as ghee,
which (waters) lead to Soma by means of poems, [let the Rājasūya-waters help us!]
- 7 In the two footsteps of which (waters there are) butter and curds, which (waters) become pure after the pressing of Soma,
pregnant with a young calf (Agni), abounding in ghee, let the Rājasūya-waters help us!
- 8 Heaven-winning thoughts beget (hymns). The establishing of hymns has come by means of the poem.
The Rājasūya-waters have impelled the fluids. The god Savitṛ has set in motion all creatures.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.2
Translation

- 9 Soma is king. Bhava is king. Paśupati (is king) of animals. Varuṇa who is of fixed authority (is king).
The gods, who were brought forth in the Rājasūya-waters, let them bestow long life, strength, and rulership on you.
- 10 The wise one has stood. He has stood up. He has been born. He has scattered the scorners. He strengthened (his) two arms (for himself).
Into the distance, he has pushed down complete annihilation afar and the sun has filled with rays of light.

The present hymn provides one of the earliest and fullest descriptions of Rudra. It is perhaps the earliest Vedic text where one can see the transition of Rudra's malevolent (*aghora*) aspects to his friendly ones (*síva*). The poet not only begs Rudra, in typical fashion, not to cause harm but also simultaneously turns the "bad" Rudra into "friendly" Rudra.

Rudra is essentially a minor deity in the RV, having only three entire hymns dedicated to him and mentioned in a few others.⁷ Unlike, Indra, the leading man of the RV, he is not associated with any particular cosmogonic myth. Rudra is routinely described as fierce and destructive. Hymns dedicated to him stress fear of his terrible arrows. The style of hymns to Rudra is different from those addressed to other gods. Whereas Indra and other gods, in typical fashion after the enumeration of their deeds, are asked for something (welfare, progeny, long-life, etc.) by the poets, hymns dedicated to Rudra ask him to refrain from potentially injurious actions. Their immediate purpose is to appease and thus to avert any potential negative effect which may result from Rudra's anger.

However, Rudra's negative character coexists with his more amiable, positive qualities already in the RV.⁸ He possesses healing powers and auspicious remedies.

⁷ Most notably RV 1.114, 2.33, and 7.46.

⁸ Rudra's malevolent aspect is expanded in later texts such as the AV and the YV, where he is constantly asked not to attack or injure. He sends the fever, cough,

In this connection, he is called *jalāśabhesaja* ‘possessing healing medicine’. Rudra’s ability to balance opposing qualities seems to have led to the enormous popularity that this deity attains in Classical Hinduism.

That Rudra does not have a share in the sacrifice is well known from TS 3.1.9.3.⁹ In fact, he is called *ucchesanabhāga* ‘he whose share (of the sacrifice) is leftovers.’ He has a place at the end of the sacrifice as Agni *Sviṣṭakṛt*¹⁰, which completes the main oblations, and thus the sacrifice. This god, who is a ‘stranger’ to the other R̥gvedic deities,¹¹ must be included in the ritual lest in his anger he should send disease and kill cattle.

In her work on Rudra-Śiva, Doris Srinivasan has re-examined the long held ideas regarding Rudra’s outsider status and has shown that Rudra is more from

and even poison. ŚB 9.1.1.6 it said that even the gods are afraid of his bow and arrow.

⁹ TS 3.1.9.6: Rudra approached him [Manu] as he went about with his cattle in the place of sacrifice and said: ‘These are my cattle.’ He [Manu] replied: ‘They have given them to me.’ ‘They have not the power to do that,’ he replied, ‘whatever is left on the place of sacrifice is mine.’ Then one should not resort to a place of sacrifice. He [Rudra] said: ‘Give me a share in the sacrifice, and I will not have designs against your cattle.’ He poured out for him the remnants of the mixed (Soma). Then indeed had Rudra no designs on his cattle. (Keith 1914: 232-233).

¹⁰ ‘To him they give a share which they cut off for Agni *Sviṣṭakṛt*. In that he cuts off a share for Agni *Sviṣṭakṛt*, he gives to Rudra a share. He cuts off one in each case, from Rudra is one as it were. He cuts off from the north part, for this is Rudra’s quarter. Verily he appeases Rudra in his own quarter’ (Keith 1914: 212).

¹¹ The ‘strangeness’ of Rudra/Śiva finds its classical formulation in the Purānic story of Dakṣa’s Sacrifice, where many of Śiva’s outsider qualities are enumerated, including his lack of share of the sacrifice.

within the Vedic tradition than from outside.¹² “Belief in the predominantly Vedic nature of Rudra-Śiva stems from the way his character relates to that of several important Vedic gods, and the way in which his function relates to the Vedic sacrifice.”¹³ Srinivasan compares Rudra to some of the major Vedic deities – Varuṇa, Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra, Vāyu, Agni, and Soma – and concludes that these deities, who stem from the oldest stratum of Vedic religion and reach back to the Indo-Iranian period, share many of the characteristics of Rudra, especially the capacity for ambivalence.¹⁴ Ambivalence, the trait that has been used to place Rudra outside of the Vedic tradition is on closer inspection one which is common to Vedic deities.¹⁵

However, it is Srinivasan’s analysis of Rudra’s nature as *ucchesanabhāga* that establishes him as essential rather than an outsider to the ritual. This aspect of Rudra in relation to the sacrificial remainder (*ucchīṣṭa*) makes him essential for the successful completion of the ritual. In Srinivasan’s view, quoting Heesterman, the remainder “like the extra element in numerical systems it encompasses, expresses

¹² Srinivasan’s hypothesis hinges on the inclusion of Rudra into the ritual and the general ambivalence that is also part of other Vedic deities. However, she does not really address many of the foreign characteristics that are associated with Rudra. For a summary of Rudra’s foreign characteristics, see Dandekar (1991: 199-277). Although his evolutionary mythology does not provide a solution to the issue of Rudra’s outsider status, he provides key data about Rudra.

¹³ Srinivasan (1997: 47).

¹⁴ On the ambivalent position of Varuṇa, see Kuiper (1979).

¹⁵ Ibid., 52.

the whole and is at the same time the principle of continuity, the seed of a new production cycle.”¹⁶ In other words, the distribution and consumption of the ritual remnant is essential to the very definition and success of the ritual.

This is already well known from the Vedic texts themselves. In KĀ 2.143,¹⁷ a discussion about how to dispose of the remnant of the ritual offering, the question of how to properly use this leftover portion ensues. The conclusion is that the remnant of the offering must be smelled in order to prevent waste. Not eating the remnant of the offering would cancel its value as an offering. Eating the remnant, however, is not allowed for humans.¹⁸ Therefore, one should smell the remnant in order to complete the cycle of offering. Smelling is considered a form of eating since that is how the gods eat. They consume the *medha* ‘aroma’ of the offering that has been transubstantiated by the fire.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid., 54.

¹⁷ *prāśyā3, ná prāśyā3 iti mīmāṁsante. yát prāśnīyāt prākārukas syād; yán ná prāśnīyād áhavis syād. ávajighred. ubháyam evá karotí* ‘They thought: should one eat it or not eat it? If he should eat (it), that would be wasteful. If he should not eat it, that would not be an oblation. He should smell it. Then, he does both (eat and not eat).

¹⁸ This is quite different from the later Hindu *pūjā* in which the human devotee is expected to consume the leftovers (*juthā*) of the deity. In *pūjā*, the question of pollution is settled. Since humans are impure as compared to gods and their leftovers (which are normally polluting), it is all right for humans to consume the food that has been eaten by a god. In the Vedic ritual, purity and pollution do not seem to be the issue. Rather, the question at hand is how to dispose of a ‘ritually charged’ remnant properly.

¹⁹ Cf. Lopez (1997).

Srinivasan has applied this rationale to Rudra as the receiver of the remnant.²⁰ She concludes: “far from signaling the god’s estrangement from the Vedic ritual as has sometimes been assumed...the epithet probably emphasizes Rudra’s ability to sustain the continuation of the rites.” He achieves this continuation by allowing the inherently powerful offering to continue to be recycled through the cosmic cycle in which humans offer to the gods and the gods give something back, *ucchisṭa*, in the form of rain, cattle, progeny, and renewed inspiration. By taking the remnant, Rudra completes the cycle that allows the offering to circulate within the closed Vedic universe.

The present PS hymn provides evidence of the transition from Rudra to Śiva. The transition can be seen in the numerous times the word *śīva* is applied to his weapons: 14.3.5 friendly [arrows]; 14.3.6 with friendly words; 14.3.7 friendly bow, friendly shower of arrows; 14.3.8 friendly body; 14.4.5 friendly quiver; and 14.4.4 *śīvo naś śambhur ā cara* ‘as a friendly one, as a benevolent one, approach us’.

The text of this hymn, which is found in all of the YV saṁhitā-s and has been independently transmitted outside of its PS context as the Nīlarudra Upaniṣad, provides another specimen with which to study the transmission of Vedic texts after the formation of the Vedic canon, as well as their eventual fate in ‘classical Hinduism.’ Although this is not the place for a full investigation in to the nature of such post-Vedic transmission, a few words may be said here.

²⁰ This rational is behind her thinking, but nowhere in her work 1997 work does Srinivasan mention the above quoted passage.

The independent transmission of portions of larger texts is not unknown in Vedic literature itself. Within each school, additional material was eventually attached to brāhmaṇas, which were not the work of a single author. These additions were often of the nature of esoteric material explaining the ‘secret’ meaning of particular actions and words of rituals. Such additional material has been traditionally categorized under the category āranyaka to reflect that such material deal with secret, dangerous rituals that were performed outside the village, where the rooftops of houses could not be seen, according to TĀ2. Other such speculative material was categorized as upaniṣad. The distinction between these two categories is rather fluid.

It is this very fluidity between genres of texts that may have led to the independent treatment and transmission of portions of Vedic texts. One example is the Kena Upaniṣad. The upaniṣad portion of the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad- Brāhmaṇa (JUB), 4.18-21, according to M. Fujii²¹ must have been transmitted independently from an early period. Even though the oral tradition of the JUB has been lost, present Tamil Jaiminīyas still recite the KU. More evidence of the independent transmission of the KU is provided by Śaṅkara who in his commentaries on this upaniṣad,²² remarked that it was the beginning of the ninth *adhyāya* of larger text.²³

²¹ See Fujii (1997).

²² This is still in need of further study, as we still do not know exactly how Śaṅkara came to know these texts. Did he recite them or did he study them with manuscripts? If the latter, then we need to see what his texts looked like – were

A similar scenario²⁴ can be expected for the independent transmission of the present PS hymn as the Nīlarudra Upaniṣad. It is conceivable that as the popularity of Rudra-Śiva grew in the late Vedic period into the Epic period when the present text was taken and used for the worship of Śiva.²⁵ A detailed study of the transmission of this upaniṣad, as well as many others, should reveal many details about the transition from Vedic culture and religion to the classical Hinduism as already seen in the Epics and fully expressed in the Purāṇa-s

they comparable to our modern editions? In addition, since Śaṅkara provides us with one of the earliest list of Vedic texts, and especially the upaniṣad-s, it will be important for future research to figure out if certain texts by his time (ca. 8th century) such as the KU, NU, etc., were already being transmitted and studied independently of their brāhmaṇa. Cf. Witzel (1997).

²³ Śaṅkara's Brāhmaśūtrabhāṣyā 3.3.5.

²⁴ Another such example is the Īśa Upanishad, a middle level upaniṣad, which has been transmitted as the 40th chapter of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā.

²⁵ However, the significance of Rudra/Śiva must have been well known by the Mantra period since the Nīlarudra text has also been preserved in VS, MS, KS, and TS. Given the ritual significance of Rudra noted above, it is not surprising to find this text preserved by YV ritualists.

- 1 I saw you descending from the heavenly (place) down to earth.
I saw Rudra shooting (his bow), the blue-necked one, the tufted one.
- 2 As a strong one, you have descended from the sky. You have stood on the earth.
O people, behold this one, the blue-necked one, the deep red-colored one.
- 3 This one here (who is) a non-killer of heroes, Rudra who possesses healing medicine approaches.
He has destroyed your missile-wounds. Let your *vātikāra* be scattered in different directions.
- 4 Glory to your anger, O Bhava. Glory to your wrath, O Bhava.
Glory to your two arms and glory to your arrow.
- 5 O you inhabiting mountains, which arrow you hold in (your) hand for shooting,
make that mountain-leaning (arrow) friendly. Do not harm my men.
- 6 With friendly words, O mountain-lord, we salute you,
so that for us just the entire world will be free of consumption (*yaksma*)
(and) pleasant.
- 7 Your arrow which (became) the most friendly (and) your bow which became friendly, (and)
your shower of arrows which (became) friendly, with that have pity for us to live.
- 8 Your presence, O Rudra, which (is) friendly, (which is) non-terrifying, and not evil-looking,
with that most beneficent presence, O mountain-dweller, look at us.
- 9 This one who (is) copper-red colored, ruddy and brown (and) deep red and those who
(are) the howlers (who) lean in all directions by the thousands, we ask forgiveness of their anger.
- 10 I have seen you descending, the blue-necked one, the deep red-colored one.
And herdsmen have seen you and the women who carry the water (have seen you). And all creatures (have seen) you. Glory to you, to that visible one.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.4
Translation

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 14.4

- 1 Let there be homage to that blue-tufted one, who is thousand-eyed (and) swift.
Moreover, those who are his warriors (*ganas*), to these ones I have done homage (to you).
- 2 Homage to your strong weapon that is not yet strung.
I have done homage to both (your) two arms (and) your bow.
- 3 Release from the bow the string (fixed) on both ends.
And those arrows (which are) in your hand, you threw them, O Bhagavan.
- 4 Having unstrung the bow, O thousand-eyed one, O hundred-quivered one, having shattered the tips of the arrows, as a friendly one, as a benevolent one approach us!
- 5 Stringless (was) the bow of the tufted one and tipless (was his) arrow.
His arrows have been destroyed. His quiver has become friendly.
- 6 The missile of your bow, let (it) avoid us on all sides.
Moreover, lay that which is your quiver down afar (and) in this (place) here.
- 7 O Bountiful one, which missile of yours (and) your bow was in your hand, by means of that is free of consumption (*yaksma*), you must encompass us from all sides.

This hymn reveals that the Paippalādins desire their hymns and ritual to achieve high prestige among Vedic rituals. The hymn offers a catalogue of the most important śrauta rituals – Vājapeya, Agniṣṭoma, Atirātra, Aśvamedha, and Agnihotra – at the time of the composition/redaction of the PS. The Paippalādins place their ritual – the *śataudanāsava*²⁶ – presented in the hymn, as being the most beneficial. They do this by continually stating the benefits obtained by each of the other rituals and then saying that the offering of the *śataudanā*-cow surpasses even these results.

This fits well with the general tendency of the Paippalādins to present themselves in a light that makes them seem necessary for the success of the sacrificer, especially of the king. In this hymn, a new ritual a new ritual is presented that is even more potent than the other well-known *śrauta* rituals and, of course, the king would need a Paippalādin as his *purohita* to properly perform this ritual.

The archaic guise of this ritual was achieved by the use of the cow and the *odana* in this ritual.²⁷ The *odana* is well known already since the RV from the famous story of Aditi and the birth of the Ādityas in RV 10.72. This story is retold

²⁶ Among 22 *sava-s* listed in KauŚS twelve involve animals, including the *śataudanāsava*, KauŚS 65.1, “in which a barren cow (*vṛśā-*) is slaughtered and, in accordance with the name of the rite, offered together with a hundred portions of cooked rice” (Gonda 1964: 64).

²⁷ For a recent discussion of *odana* within the complex of Vedic sacrifice, see Heesterman (1993).

and expanded in the saṁhitā-s of the YV.²⁸ The myth is one of the essential myths of Vedic culture.²⁹ First, it explains the birth of humanity as a ritual mistake that is ‘fixed’ by the Āditya-s. Having offered a cooked *odana* to the gods, Aditi obtains a pair of sons after she eats from the *ucchiṣṭa* of the *odana*. Thinking that she might obtain an even better pair of sons if she eats before offering, she gives birth to Mārtāṅḍa, an aborted, dead egg. The Ādityas revive the dead egg from which Vivavant is born. Vivavant is the father of Yama and Manu, who in India, is the first mortal.

Kuiper notes that *odana* is a foreign, non-Indo-Aryan word and religious concept in the RV.³⁰ Its context is the myth about the archer who cuts open a mountain with his arrow, kills the boar Emuṣa, and obtains the *odana*. This myth is found mainly in RV 8 – 8.63.9, 69.14, 77.6-11, 96.2, and 1.61.17.³¹

Odana rituals, according to Gonda, are “indeed, a central right, in a way a substitute for a Soma sacrifice, and essentially intended to secure for the sacrifice

²⁸ MS 1.6.12, KS 11.6, TS 6.5.6, and ŚB 3.1.3.3-4.

²⁹ This myth has been treated in some detail by Hoffmann (1976) and recently by Jamison (1991).

³⁰ Kuiper (1991: 14)

³¹ It is interesting to note that these hymns are part of the Kāṇva frame around the core books of the RV. Kuiper considers the Kāṇva-s to be non-Aryans because of references to Kāṇva-s as *abrāhmaṇa-s* (KS 28.4). He also does not believe that *kāṇva* can be explained from *kṛṇva* since the phonetic development ṛn > an does not happen in the RV. On *kṛṇva*, see PS 13.5.9n above.

the heavenly region.”³² These rites were obviously considered important enough by the YV ritualist to be adapted and incorporated into the classical Soma ritual as part of the pre-Soma sequence of setting up the *śrauta* fires, the Agnyādheya.³³

Another somewhat archaic feature used in this hymn is the method of killing the sacrificial animal, in this case the cow, by stoning her.³⁴ This contrasts sharply with the Rgvedic method of decapitating the animal as well as the *śrauta* method of suffocating the sacrificial animal outside the *vedi*.

³² Gonda (1964: 59).

³³ See Gonda (1964: 53-63) and Heesterman (1993: 90-95).

³⁴ See below PS 14.5.4n.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.5
Translation

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.5

1. She who yields what one wishes, having beautiful sides, has come to us,
the *śataudanā*-cow, overflowing with milk,
giving vigor as milk, not kicking, prolonging long life-span for the
sacrificer.
- 2 I grasp her who is fit for sacrifice and willing for well being, the sappy
one, who is free from disease (and) of good intention.
Let all my space be among gods. Putting confident intention (in the
efficacy of the sacrifice), I cook the *śataudanā*-cow.
- 3 Bind the divine one. Deliver her who is eating, the *śataudanā*-cow.
Indeed, this one here is the wish-granting (cow).
Proding (her), do not harm her with the stone. Moreover, let her go to the
gods. She passes over (our) enemies.
- 4 Take hold of that one (cow) that is sacred to all the gods, the *śataudanā*-
cow by means of a poem. One hundred evils (are) hers.
Striking (her) with the knotty stone, cause this one to rise to the heavenly
world.
- 5 Indeed, strongly cutting apart this cut apart one (and) beating off (her)
skin, mix (her) with refreshment.
The daughter of Virāj, anointed with refreshment, let (her) yield every wish
for the sacrificer.
- 6 Cutting (the *śataudanā*-cow) limb by limb, do not overthink. Name (each
name of the cow) separately.
This one who previously belonged to men, who has been in front has gone
to the gods, the *śataudanā*-cow (who has) many forms (and) who
has golden color.
- 7 The man who is two-footed (and) two-handed, who has great self-
control holds the sacrificial pole with a hook (on top).
With that (pole), knowing the limbs of that one who not to be killed (the
cow), disperse the divine *śataudanā*-cow in one hundred ways.
- 8 Cut straight that pale red (portion) of (her) skin. Having measured that,
now disperse (her) in one hundred ways.
Attach (them) up together, (put) down all the receptacles. Give increase
of wealth to the sacrificer.

Paippālada Samhitā 14.5
Translation

- 9 I rest the cooking pot on the fire with a sacred verse (*rc*). I carry you, the earth, on top of the earth.
(You pot), bearing water and flesh, do not waver. Let *pīśāca-s* not slay you with their revenge.
- 10 Proceed upward! Do not tremble. Disperse the region of clouds in the middle.
You, having crossed beyond all *rakṣasa-s*, then ascend the sky.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.6
Translation

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.6

- 1 Go to heaven, O śataudanā-cow. Become the path for one thousand.
Become ten thousand (and) one hundred thousand! Then, become imperishable!
You have ascended the heavenly world.
- 2 They partake of the śataudanā-cow in one hundred ways. He (the sacrificer) who gives, he climbs one hundred steps.
The two sides are the Vāmadevya (and) the Naudasa (*sāman-s*). On the third step on the highest point of the sky, (she) is situated.
- 3 The śataudanā-cow, being arranged in one hundred (ways), who is heaven-going makes (for herself) a hundred forms.
Let her who is divine (and) easily-invoked grant us protection. Thus, she will have pity for such (as we).
- 4 The śataudanā-cow, measured out in twelve-day portions, who is heaven-going sent forth one hundred *pr̥ṣṭha stotra-s*.
She who encompasses all sacrifices from far away, may she establish the giver (sacrificer) in increased wealth.
- 5 O śataudanā-cow, approach the ones who have sacrificed, the warriors of Soma.
Having obtained all sacrifices, may you be the path of the fulfillment of wishes.
- 6 O śataudanā-cow, approach. Cross over the sacrificers by means of the sacrifice.
You ascended to those who strive after gods, there where the third heaven of the firmament (is).
- 7 The śataudanā-cow is the first, whose footprints are refreshment. Indeed, your middle is truth (and) your head (is) immortality.
Divine one, you fill up both heaven and earth.
- 8 Verily, your two hips and your two thighs (are) the force of active truth.
And, your two forefeet, indeed, that is for strength.
Your two sides (which are) the (rennet) stomach (*vanisthu*) and (rumen) stomach (*jathara*) (are heaven and earth). The śataudanā-cow obtained all the worlds.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.6
Translation

- 9 The *sataudanā*-cow is the first one endowed with sight. Indeed, your eye
 is the sun and the moon.
United with the all-gods (and) seasons, you will cause the giver to be
 satisfied with satisfaction.
- 10 A hundred are (her) fluids. A hundred are her calves. They distribute her
 who was cooked in a hundred ways.
The seven worlds are fixed onto heaven. As the first one, you conquered
 the seven worlds, O *sataudanā*-cow.

Paippālada Samhitā 14.7
Translation

Paippalāda Samhitā 14.7

- 1 When you, who are one hundred-*mānas*, go with one thousand as the first one, you conquered the worlds, O *śataudanā*-cow.
And the Vājapeya, which comprises all of one's property (she completely obtained). The *śataudanā*-cow completely obtained all worlds.
- 2 Indra, as the first, you drank the *śataudanā*-cow, being gracious to the seven seers.
He took the strength (and) vigor of the *āsura*-s by means of her. He ascended the summits, the worlds of the gods, by means of her.
- 3 This one (who is) Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Atri, Bharadvāja, this one (who is Gotama, Vasiṣṭha,
(and) Kaśyapa, let the seven (seers), now, as the first ones, taste the cooked one, the *śataudanā*-cow.
- 4 The *śataudanā*-cow, as the first one, the luminous one, who is heaven-going, makes (for herself) the three lights (of the triple world). Where the givers subsist upon her, there (in that place) they feast with the gods.
- 5 The *śataudanā*-cow, having the meters as wings, the high one, the heaven-going one, emitted the three meters (Gāyatrī, Trīṣṭubh and Jagatī). They found her lord, the overlord of the seasons, the year.
- 6 Having surpassed the Agniṣṭoma, (having surpassed) the Atirātra, O *śataudanā*-cow,
having obtained all sacrifices, reach the fire to be arranged, (Agnicayana ritual).
- 7 Having surpassed that which is related to the Aśvamedha, (having surpassed) the twelve-day (ritual), O *śataudanā*-cow,
having obtained the three-night (ritual and) the one-day (ritual), she is arranged in accordance with the Vājapeya ritual.
- 8 (Those) who sacrifice with one thousand (rituals) and (those) who have offered Agnihotra-s,
(and those) who have sacrificed with all the sacrifices, the *śataudanā*-cow obtain these (sacrificers).

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.7
Translation

- 9 Auspiciously, I place your joints, O you having a good share. Auspiciously,
they become your flesh in the correct way (in heaven).
Which bones of yours the butcher has crushed let Tvaṣṭṛ prepare
that (part of you) which has been separated (by the butcher).
- 10 Which worlds were conquered by sacrifice, and which (worlds) the meters
share,
he obtains all those worlds who gives the *sātaudanā*-cow.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.8-9
Translation

To the Night for protection: PS 14.8 - 9

This is one of only a handful of hymns addressed to the Night (*rātri*) in the AV.³⁵ In the RV, there is only one hymn addressed to the Night, RV 10.127, in which she is paired in a number of stanzas with her sister, Uṣas ‘Dawn.’ The present AV hymn, which is ŚŚ 19.49-50, treats the Night independently of her sister Uṣas. The present hymn picks up the theme of praising and praying to the Night for protection against dangers such as wolves, thieves, and robbers who come in the night. Rātri is not conceived as the dark night that brings danger, but rather as the radiant, shinning night. She spreads over the land with her brilliant light .

³⁵ From Whitney’s index to the translation of the AV, the following hymns are identified as addressed to the Night: 7.8, 19.47-50. See also PS 1.103.

Paippālada Samhitā 14.8
Translation

Paippalāda Samhitā 14.8

1. The night, the vigorous young woman devoted to the house of Bhaga (and) of Savitṛ,
well-invoked, endowed with prosperity, who is swift as horses, (she) filled heaven, and earth with greatness.
2. She who is deep has descended on every (thing). She who is most untiring has ascended the highest (point of the night sky).
Along the summit, the night, the eager one, the prosperous one spreads out, like Mitra by his own powers.
3. O one to be chosen, to be praised, who has a good share, well born one, O night, you have come near. May you be one who has good thoughts here.
Save us (and) those (things) born that are suitable for humans, which are our cattle, our wealth.
4. The night, the eager one, took the luster of the lion, of the deer, of the tiger, of the leopard,
the ruddy color of the horse, (and) the cleverness of man. Shining one, you make (for yourself) many forms.
5. Let the mother of the snow be easily invoked for us.
You of good share, take notice of this praise with which I greet you – the friendly night and sun in the day – in all directions.
6. O shining night, like a king you will enjoy (our song) of praise.
We will be ones who have all heroes. We will become ones having all property along the dawns shining in various directions.
7. Indeed, you assumed praiseworthy names. The Night who is friendly (and) has good cots for us.
(Those) who desire to harm my booty (are not found), the thief is not found (and) then cheater is not found.
8. O night, you are auspicious like the adorned *camasa*-dish. As a young woman, you contain everything having the form of cattle.
Endowed with eyes, touching beautiful forms for me, you have released the heavenly, radiant sun around.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.8
Translation

- 9 The thief who will come today (and) the mortal cheater intending to injure,
 the night, having gone toward (him), will cut off (his) neck and (his) head.
- 10 (She will cut off) his two feet, so he will not come. (She will cut off) his
 two hands, so he will not remain.
The thief who will approach, he, being completely crushed, will go away.
He will go away. He will go well away. He will go away towards the
withered trunk.

Paippālada Saṁhitā 14.9
Translation

Paippalāda Saṁhitā 14.9

- 1 O night, make Ahi blind as dry smoke (and) headless
Beat out the two eyes of the wolf. Beat the thief bound at the pole.
- 2 O night, whose oxen (are) sharp-horned (and) very fast,
today by means of those (oxen), cause us to pass over difficulties at all times.
- 3 Unhurt, we wish to cross every night with the body.
As those without floats (can not cross) the deep (water) (so our) enemies should not cross.
- 4 As millet flying forth is not found along even in daytime,
thus, O night, cause him forth who intends to injure us to fly
- 5 (Away) the thief, the garment stealer and (away) the cattle-driving robber.
Moreover, (away cattle robber) who having put (a halter) around the head of the running (horse) wishes to lead (it away).
- 6 Today, O night of good share, when you will go sharing wealth,
then come to us with brightness (and). Then, you will go along to others.
- 7 Give us to the Dawn, O night, all who are without blemish!
The Dawn will grant us to the day. The day (is) for you, O shining one.

1. 1a Tr. Uncommon cadence -- ∞ x.

apo devīr: These are the waters released by Indra from the Vala after his demiurgic act of separating the heaven and earth. For a general discussion of the heavenly waters, see Lüders (1951), Kuiper (1983: 138-150), and Witzel (1984, 1995a).

The one being anointed must be Indra who by means of the unction waters of the Rājasūya is being made identical with Varuṇa, as king, as well as with Agni. This union in the person of the king implies a unity or totality of the universe. See Heesterman (1957: 79-90).

2. Cf. ŚŚ 1.33.1, TS 5.6.1.1

suvarṇa: This divine aspect of the waters, in this case the Rājasūya-waters, is related to Av. *xarənah*, with the reconstructed Vedic form **svarnas*. Lake Vourukaṣa is the source of *xarənah* ‘royal splendor’. The waters of this lake, like the Rājasūya-waters of this hymn, contain the force or power that is established upon the king, and allows him to rule. See PS 14.2.2n above and Witzel (1987c).

Agni is often identified with Apāṁ Nāpat ‘the son of the waters,’ cf. RV 2.35. The union of the waters and Agni, according to Heesterman (1957: 87-88), represents the union of priestly and royal power. This union in the Rājasūya produces the king as the focal point where these two spheres of power intercept and interact. Cf. ŚaṅkŚŚ 15.3.3. The waters thus contain the ‘radiance’ (*varcas*) of the sun, which they then pass on to the sacrificer/king. The union of priestly and royal

power is also represented by the union of Agni and Soma (the golden waters are his share).

3. Cf. RV 7.49.3, ŚŚ 1.33.2, TS 5.6.1.1.

yāsām rājā varuṇo...avapaśya: Varuṇa is the god of the primeval waters under the earth, of the ‘stone house’ in the nether world and of the night sky. These waters must refer to his abode which during the night is understood to hang over the earth in an inverted position, as has been shown by Kuiper (1983) and further elucidated by Witzel (1984, 1995a) and Brereton (1991). Thus, one can understand the idea expressed in RV 5.85.3 that Varuṇa poured out the cask with its rim turned downward, over heaven, earth and the intermediate space. These waters, and thus Varuṇa’s abode, must be the waters beyond the sky, namely, the Milky Way, the ‘ocean’ or ‘lake’ that moves in the night and the waters in the sky.

satyānṛta: PS 14.1.3ab = RV 7.49.3ab: *yāsām rājā vāruṇo yāti mādhye satyānṛté avapāsyāñ jánānām*. The expected opposition of *rta* vs. *anṛta* and *rta* vs. *satya* is found a few times in the RV. The reason for these multiple oppositions is the large semantic sphere covered by *rta*. Like other difficult Sanskrit words – *dharman*, *brāhmaṇ*, and *śraddhā* – *rta* expresses an aggregate of ideas and concepts that has no immediate equivalent in other languages. *rta* encompasses several important concepts including cosmic law, order, human law, customs, as well as truth. It is best understood in opposition to *druḥ* (Av. *druj*) ‘to deceive, to lie, doing harm’. This opposition makes clear that an understanding of *rta* as moral law, order or truth is not sufficient, but that rather, as suggested by M. Witzel (1996):

172), it can best be understood as the force active truth (Wahrheitsverwirklichung). Thus, *rta* as the power of active truth encompasses not only the idea of truth-speech but also the idea of actions that are dictated or engendered by a truth-speech (i.e. vows).

As Krick (1982: 200) points out, *rta* as “überpersönliche Gesetzmäßigkeit der Weltordnung” is opposed to *satya* as “sichtbare Wahrheit (aktuelle Wirklichkeit, das Wahrmachen von Aussagen und Versprechungen, das Wirklich-Statt-finden von Kämpfen).” If we understand *rta* this way, then the opposition *satya* vs. *anṛta* in our compound becomes clearer. The sphere of *satya* seems to be limited to truth that can be put into a verbal formula. Lüder (1951) stressed the important relation between *mantra* and *satya* as a way of understanding *satya* as magical speech. The limited scope of *satya* as spoken truth is seen clearest in *satyakriyā-s*, where *satya* seems to be preferred over *rta* in the formulation of these statements. Cf. Thompson (1998: 134-136). Watkins (1995: 85-93) notes that *rtena* is used in some *satyakriyā* formulas in the specific context of kingship. Furthermore, the use of *anṛta* with *vivad* and *vivac* ‘to speak’ and in compounds with *vivad* narrows the sphere of *anṛta* ‘untruth’ is that of the spoken word - of a conceptualization which can be put into words. *rta*, on the other hand, seems to refer generally to the cosmic, mechanistic process that encompasses the power of truth (*satya*), which cannot be easily put into words. Thus, *satya* refers to spoken truth and *anṛta*, its opposite, refers to untrue speech (and thus ineffective in leading to the proper action or activity). Lüders made this clear already in his discussion of AV 4.16.

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 14.1
Notes

This hymn, which Thieme terms ‘a versified admonition to speak the truth,’ helps to clarify the relationships of these two terms: *sinántu sárve áñrtam vádantam yaḥ satyavādyáti tám srjantu | 6| satyéna pásair abhí dhehi varunainam má te mocy anṛtaváni nṛcakṣah | 7|*. ‘Let all bind him speaking untruth. (He) who is speaking truth, let them let him go. With one hundred fetters, O Varuṇa, harness him. Let the untruthful ones not be released by you. O you who are watching over people.’

This is echoed in Manu 8.82ab: *sāksye 'nṛtam vadān pásair badhyate vāruṇair bhr̄śam* ‘He who speaking untruth in testimony, is bound strongly by the fetters of Varuṇa.’ See Bergaigne (1878) and Oberlies (1998: 346-47).

4. Cf. ŚŚ 1.33.3, TS 5.6.1.1.

yāsām devā divi kṛṇvanti bhakṣam: This connection the waters in heaven, which are *madhumatīḥ* ‘contain honey’ (see n. 6 below), with the idea of heavenly nourishment is expressed in this verse. The idea of heaven as a place of unending supply of nourishment is present already in the RV, for example RV 9.113.10. TS 1.7.3.4 clearly speaks of food (*anna*) that does not diminish in heaven. JB 1.42 similarly describes heaven as a place where one eats from the endless rivers of honey. AV 12.3.6 speaks of both firmaments (*nabhasī*) and both worlds (*lokā*) that are *jyotiṣmān mādhumaṇyor* ‘filled by light, filled with honey.’ Cf. TS 5.6.2.1-2. The opposite of heaven, namely *nirṛti*, is said to be a place without light or food. See Lopez (1997).

5. Cf. ŚŚ 1.33.4, TS 5.6.1.2.

5b Jg. Rare opening x ∪ – –. Uncommon break – | – ∪. Uncommon cadence ∪ – ∪ – x. The opening, break, cadence distribution in the RV is 417 | 418 | 25. The obvious solution seems to be to take out *upa*, which would produce a trīṣṭubh with a statistically better opening, break, and cadence. However, there are no certain grounds on which to make such a decision. Both branches of the tradition attest the verse with 12 syllables. There is no variant of this verse based on which one might find support to correct the present reading. See PS 14.3.2 n below. 5c Tr. Uncommon cadence – – ∪ x.

tanū: For a recent discussion on the terminology for the self see J.R. Gardner *The Developing Terminology for the Self in Vedic India*, a University of Iowa (thesis), 1998. Following the semiotic methodology laid out by Elizarenkova (1995), Gardner's work makes a distinction between the human and divine spheres of speech in reference to terms for the self. He concludes that *tanū* does not always refer to the physical body but that quite often, especially in reference to gods, means something like impression, manifestation, or *gestalt*. See 13.3.8n above.

6. 6a Tr. Caesura falls within a compound.

āpas as well as all other adjectives in pāda ab are formally nominative plurals. However, āpas is already used as an accusative six times in RV 1 and 10 (according to Grassman). Whitney (1881) notes āpas as accusative plural 13 times. Macdonell (1910: 217) notes 16 occurrences. All other adjectives in pāda ab can also be read as either nominatives or accusative plurals.

madhu: Honey in the Vedic, especially in the RV, is still connected to the idea of a drink or food of the gods. RV 8.4.8 informs us of a drink consisting of milk and honey, which according to AV 9.11.2 is the custom of the Atharvavedins. In the RV, honey is particularly associated with the Aśvins who are said to be *madhūyu* ‘eager for sweetness,’ *madhupā* ‘honey-drinkers,’ and *mādhvī* ‘sweet.’ They are said to be the source of honey and to grant it to the bees – RV 1.112.21 and 10.40.6. In comparison to other gods, they are never called *somapā* ‘Soma-drinkers, even though they are offered Soma (as late comers to the sacrifice).

The association of water with honey is also well known from RV. In the RV 1.23.16, the waters, as mothers, are said to mix their *payas* (fluid, milk) with honey. Similarly, RV 7.471-2 speaks of the waters which contain honey and which are *ghṛtaprūṣa* ‘sprinkling honey’ as the drink that exhilarated Indra into battle. Cf. RV 10.30.4, 7-9.

The ‘waters that carry honey’ also draws attention to the old Indo-European idea of an intoxicating drink of the gods. This drink, usually thought to be located in heaven, was acquired by the bird a god (the eagle of Indra, the eagle of Zeus), or the god himself in the form of a bird (Odin who carried the mead away in the form of a bird). Puhvel (1987: 256-268) has discussed the importance of this heavenly drink in relation to the proto-Indo-European **ek'wo-medhyo*, ‘horse drink’ attesting a ritual which included both a horse and drunkenness. The association of fermented honey, Gk. *mead*, with the idea of drunkenness and of grasping the Truth is also known from Yasna 10.8: *vīspe zī anniē maōdño aēśma hacinte*

xruuīm.druuō / āat hō yō haomahe maōō aśa hacaitē uruuāsmana “all other intoxicants are accompanied by Wrath with the bloody club; but the intoxication which is Haoma’s is accompanied by gladdening Truth.” In Greek mythology, the Bee Maidens of Mount Parnassos when fed honey achieve a state of ecstasy and tell (*alētheiē*) ‘truth,’ but when deprived of the fermented honey they *pseúdontai* ‘lie.’ See Nagy (1990: 59-60). Similarly, the *Prose Edda (Skáldskaparmál)* tells how a wise man Kvasir, born out of two warring parties, spitting into a crock (a primitive method of inducing fermentation) was killed by dwarfs. They mixed his blood with honey and thus produced the *mead* of poetry. See Puhvel (1987: 210-11). In Vedic, we find traces of this motif as well. In AV 6.69.2, the poet asks the Aśvins to anoint him with honey so that he may speak ‘brilliant words,’ of course the truth. See also Hillebrandt (1891), Oldenberg (1894), Macdonell (1897), and Mallory (1989).

7. **hiranyam:** Both *hiranya* and *hiranyaya* are attested in the RV, with the latter being used most often. *Hiranya* fits in this context and is called for on metrical considerations. However, we already find *utso...hiranyayam* in the RV 8.61.6, 9.107, AV 20.118.2, as well as SV 1.511, 2.25 and 2.930.

utsam: The well from which the waters sprang forth was located under the earth but appears in the sky or rather rotates up to the sky during the night. Cf. RV 5.32.1: *ádardar útsam ásrjo ví kháni tvám arṇaván badbadhanáṁ aramṇāḥ / mahántam indra párvataṁ ví yád váḥ srjó ví dhárā áva dānavám han.* ‘You break open the well. You opened the cave. You stopped the pounding waves. O Indra,

when you split apart the great mountains for us. You split the rim. You beat down the Dānava.'

8. **samudra:** 'lake,' cf. 13.2.2n above. This remains a difficult term to understand in the RV. According to the text, the geographical outlook does not seem to indicate that R̄gvedic poets had direct knowledge of the ocean – the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal. Kuiper (1983) notes that *samudra* refers to the oceans that surround the earth in the mythical cosmology and the cosmic waters above and under the earth – the Milky Way. VS 23.47 *kim samudrásamam sárah...* 48 *dyaúḥ samudrásamam sárah* 'What is that pool that is like the ocean/ lake?...' The sky is that pool which is like the ocean/lake.' Given the stress the RV places on cosmology and cosmogony, it seems likely that references to the 'ocean'– the eastern and western oceans, the lower and upper ocean – are observations of the night sky which refer to the Milky Way. See Kuiper (1983), Brereton (1991), and Witzel (1984, 1995a).

9. 9a Jg. The second yā seems superfluous; its removal would make a tristubh pāda. 9b Tr. Rare opening x u – u.

agrīhṇan: The stem *grbhṇā-* and *grhṇā-* show varying distribution in the early Vedic texts. In the RV, the present stem *grbhṇā-* appears with greater frequency than *grhṇā-*; Grassman notes only one example in RV 4.57.7 *grhṇātu*. However, in the AV the distribution is reversed and there only three instances of *grbhṇā-* present stem in SS (3.86.6 *grbhṇāmi*, 20.135.9 *pratigrbhṇihī*, and *pratyagrbhṇan* 20.135.7²). Zehnder (1999) also notes three instances in PS 2 of

gr̥hnā- where all manuscripts read *gr̥hnā-* nasal present stem. Griffith (1998) notes *gr̥hnāmi* in PS 19.10.14 (= ŚŚ 3.8.6 = 6.94.2) where all manuscripts agree on the reading. With this distribution and the fact that only Kā has a reading using the older, RV stem *grbhñā-*, we are safe in proposing *agr̥hnā-* as the reading of *G. The change in distribution from -bhñ- to -hñ- may be attributed to the general MIA development by which aspirated consonants become deaspirated. However, it should be noted that even in the face of this development, Sanskrit maintains the phonological distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants throughout its history. On GRAH¹ as an early secondary development, see Wackernagel-Debrunner *AIG* (1: 251-252; 2: 255). It is probable that Kā's reading might have been influenced by the RV or Kāṭha tradition of Kashmir.

amṛta, madhu: The well-known association of the drink of immortality (Greek *ambrosia*) with milk, Soma, and honey. Cf. above n6.

10. **dāśuṣe:** Dative singular of the Perfect participle √*dāś*. In RV, *dāśuṣe* is always used in the context of *martyāya*, for example RV 1.113.18b, 1.124.12d and 4.11.3c. The reduplicated form of the participle occurs only four times in the RV (1.112.20, 1.66.32.82 and 5.53.6). The non-reduplicated form is used consistently (probably over 100 times). Metrical constraints call for *dāśuṣe*.

1. 1b Jg. Rare opening x u – u.

opaśā: Kuiper (1991) lists this word among the non-IA substrate words for ornaments in the RV. He notes that the word contains a foreign prefix o-, possibly from Muṇḍa. Clark (1999) has discussed the term *opasā* as referring to Indus Civilization headdresses as presented in terracotta figurines from Harappa. She notes that *opasā* refers to a ‘horn or horn-like headdress worn by males and females.’ Indra is said to wear horn-like crown or headdress: RV 8.104.5c *cakrāṇa opasām divi*‘make for himself a hornlike headdress in heaven’ and RV 1.173.6d *bharti avadhāvāṁ opasām iva dyam*‘the self-ruler (Indra) carries the sky like horn-like crown.’ Clark notes that these two references to Indra might indicate how he carries the earth on his head. More likely, this may point to Indra holding up the sky with his two arms raised which could very well look like horns emerging from his head. In our PS verse, the reference to horns seems unmistakable because of the identification of the waters with cows. This is further supported by PB 23.4.3 *dvyopasāḥ samstutā tasmād dvyopasāḥ paśavāḥ* ‘The complete *stotra* is two-pillared, therefore cattle is two-horned.’

samudra: Cf. PS 13.2.2n and PS 14.1.8 above.

2. **trayān vājinah:** A direct reference to the team of three (four according to KātyāśŚ 14.3.9) horses of the chariot of the *yajamāna* that is raced during the Rājasūya following the *abhiṣeka*. In the Vajāpeya, the chariot of the *yajamāna* is yoked with three horses in opposition to the other 16 chariots used in the ritual. See Heesterman (1957: 128) and Sparreboom (1985: 28-43).

vājayati: From *vāj* ‘to be aware, aroused.’ This transitive verb is to be distinguished from the denominative *vājayati*, from *vāja* ‘race, booty.’ The latter is intransitive and does not appear in the AV. The transitive meaning has been derived from **wogéyeti*, which accounts for Lat. *vegeō* and Go. (*us-*)*wakjan*. Cf. Jamison (1983: 51, 89).

kṣatra: Refers to the notion of the Herrschaftsmacht conferred on the king by the gods or other group of men. In the AV, *kṣatra* is intimately connected with *rāstra*, cf. AV 10.3.12. See Schlerath (1960: 126-127) and Oguibénin (1998: 43-48). A discussion of the ritual aspect of this concept is found in Heesterman (1957: 114-122) and more recently in Witzel (1987b) in a discussion of the coronation ritual of Nepal. In the coronation ritual of, the king is besprinkled with several kinds of waters some of which contain other items – herbs, perfumes, flowers, cow’s urine, fruits, and gold, and *kuśa* grass. Through this process and other actions during the unction, the power of the substances, gods, and land (of Nepal) are placed and made to reside in the king. Thus, rulership (*kṣatra*) is directly linked with the powers of the physical world as well as the heavenly powers (the powers of the gods that are placed in the king). Heesterman understands the unction ritual as a symbolic new birth of the king out of the womb of the year and out of the cosmos.

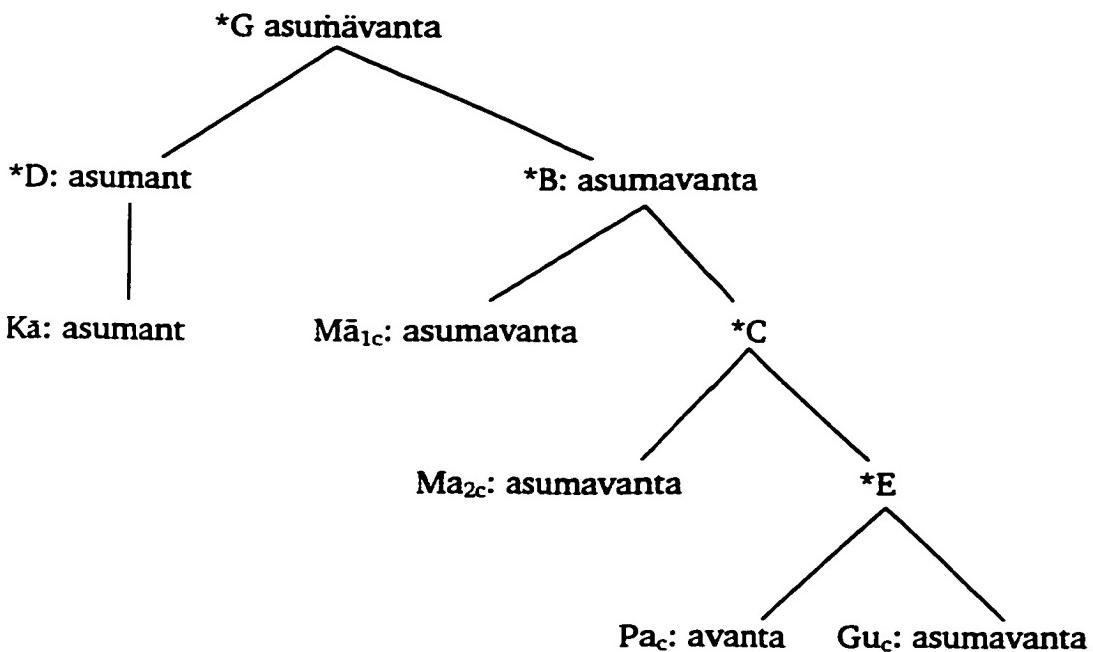
3-4. **sapta ṛṣayah:** Meter requires *saptarṣayah*. However, when -a/-ā is followed by ṛ-, contraction to -ar- is never written in the RV and the VS. The MS generally lengthens a to -ā even where the meter requires -ar-. Other occurrences of this

particular compound in the PS seem to indicate that the PS also follows this tradition. See Macdonell (1910: 63) and Wackernagel-Debrunner *A/G* (I: 267).

4. ⁺*asuvanta*: In order to understand the series of errors that have lead to the readings in our manuscripts, one must be aware of how the manuscripts correct errors. There are three possible readings: Kā: *asumanta* vs. Ma_{1c}, Ma_{2c}, Pa_c *asumavanta*, and Gu_c *avanta*. A reading *a????anta* must be accepted as necessarily having belonged to the archetype. An examination of the forms reveals that *asumavanta* is not a possible form. Furthermore, considering meter, this reading has one too many syllables: -su-, -ma-, or -va- is extraneous to the reading.

This leads to the supposition that *G itself may could have already itself had a correction. It is not uncommon for older manuscripts to correct incorrect aksara-s by marking three dots or strokes (☰) above the aksara (mä) or crossing out the aksara with line (aksara). Cf. Bühler (1959: 110). One can conjecture, already in *G, a reading *asumavanta*, where the aksara -ma- was marked, probably with the three dots or lines. It is quite possible considering the negative effect that the Indian climate has on manuscripts that the dots or lines could have faded away, were mistaken for accents, or were simply overlooked by the copyist.

Schematically we can illustrate this error as follows:



The scribe of Kā must have re-interpreted *asumant* < *asu-mant* ‘having life.’ In the Orissa branch, the correction marks were lost and the extraneous syllable was carried through.

Bharata: The name of the sub-tribe of the Puru in the RV. It appears in the RV as the name of a tribe only six times in book 3, 5 and 7 which focus on the ascendancy of the Bharata tribe at the time of king Sudās. Book 7, in particular, provides a picture of shifting alliances among the tribes and their *purohita-s* (Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra) that eventually culminates in the Battle of Ten Kings. It is thus not surprising to find the winner of the battle as the one anointed as the king endowed with all powers that the king requires. This is less surprising still when we consider that this hymn – not found in SS - along with PS 10 falls under those that seem to have been composed by the Paippalādins in order to ensure a place for

themselves in the new power structure. See: Macdonell (1912) and Witzel (1995e, 1997).

5. 5c Tr. Rare opening x u u -.

6. 6b Tr. Uncommon Break – | u -. The syntax of this pāda is not quite regular. The position of the relative pronoun, *yāḥ*, is unexpected in relation to the preceding pādas where the relative is always in first position.

pīnītē 3rd pl. from *vṛpi* ‘to swell, to fatten, (an)schwellen, .’ Verbs of the second conjugation (pi-nu) loose the -n of the 3rd pl. middle ending (ante > ate). Cf. YAv *fra-pīnaoti*, *fra-pīnnuata*. Cf. Werba (1997: 356-57), Macdonell (1910: 335) and Mayrhofer KEWA sub *pīnvati*, and EWA sub PAY¹¹.

samjñāna: n. ‘agreement,’ in RV 10.19.4c *samjñānam yát parāyaṇam* ‘which agreement is the going away.’.

7. 7b Jg. Rare opening x -- u. Caesura falls in within a compound.

vājīna: The Petersburg Dictionary (p. 899): Molke (erzeugt durch Einmischen saurer Milch in heissgemachte süsse). This meaning is found already in TS 1.6.3.10 and VS 19.21, 23. *Vājīna* is also attested in ĀpŚS 8.2.6 where directions for its preparation are given. The *vājīna* is the watery part of the curdled milk obtained by pouring out the solid portion called *āmikṣā*. It is offered to the Vājins (the sons of Br̥hadukta, RV, during the Vaiśvadeva portion of the Cāturmasya sacrifice (AśvŚS 2.16.19). The meaning ‘horse’ does not make sense in this context of this stanza. See Macdonell (1912) and Einoo (1988).

8. 8b Tr. Uncommon cadence – u u x. 8c Tr. Uncommon opening x – u u.

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 14.2
Notes

⁺asūṣvata: Reduplicated Aorist of *vsū* ‘to impel.’ Gotō (1991: 695) notes

suṣvatu KS 40.9^m. On the present reading, Gotō: ‘ferner ist AVP-Or XIV 2,8 *asūksata* ~ Kashm. XIV 1,18 *asūkta* wohl ⁺asūṣvata (oder ⁺asūṣvata) zu lessnen.’ His Orissa reading is based on Witzel’s tentative reading of the Orissa manuscripts.

Pāda d has three extra syllables for a total of 14, making hypersyllabic Jagatī pāda with an uncommon break. It seems likely that *savitā* is a gloss of *prāśāvīd devah*.

9. The meter in pāda a following the pāda break in Mā₁ gives a normal anustubh. However, following the same break, pāda b produces a hypersyllabic Jagatī pāda, like 14.2.8d.

Bhava: One of the new names that is given to Rudra in VS 16.18.28. In AV 6.93.1-2, Bhava, along with Śarva, are presented as entities distinct from Rudra, but are somewhat identified with him in AV 11.2. In the AV and later texts, these names are usually used when referring to Rudra’s destructive arrow and lightning. It is also a name of Agni in ŚB 1.7.3.10, an eastern text. In the same passage, Bhava is said to be worshiped by the Bāhikas.

10 **bādhīṣṭa:** Although all Orissa manuscripts write the augment, the augmented forms of *vbadh* are not attested elsewhere. It is possible that in the Orissa branch of the transmission, which usually does not apply abhinihita sandhi, the scribe, understanding an augmented form parallel to two previous augmented forms in ab, re-inserted the a. Kā is somewhat helpful in making this decision. Kā generally does not apply abhinihita sandhi and does not generally drop e-. We may

count this form as an injunctive, cf. Hoffmann (1964: 62). Bhattacharya (1997) has followed the Kā and interpreted *avādhīṣṭa*, which does not make much sense here: ‘in the distance, he killed complete annihilation (*nirṛti*) away.’

nirṛti: This term must refer to the place rather than to the often-encountered personified or deified concept, especially in AV. *Nirṛti* is described in the RV as a place that is cold, dark, without food, the place reserved for those who act against the ‘institutions’ of Vedic society – Brahmin killers, cow killers, and (male) embryo killers. This verse emphasizes the opposition of light and darkness. *Nirṛti* is pushed away even further below and the place where it used to be is filled with light. Cf. Brown (1941).

1. **ava:** Macdonell (1910: 412) states that the adnominal use of *ava*, although rare, is linked to the ablative in the sense of ‘down from.’ He cites RV 7.64.2 and AV 7.5.5. Cf. Delbrück (1968: 451).

Nīlagrīva: This is a name for Rudra/Śiva, which is already listed in the Śaturudriya chapter of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā. Like Nīlakanṭha, it points to the later, well-known Churning of the Ocean myth. In this myth, one of the items produced by the churning of the ocean by the gods and *asura-s* is poison which Śiva drinks, causing his neck to turn blue.

śikhaṇḍin: Kuiper (1991: 14) identifies *śikha* (*viśikha*) as non-IA word in the RV. A *śikhaṇḍa*, according to Clark (2000) represents a crest of hair generally in the shape of a fan that is worn by both males and females. Figurines from Harappa seem to have either one or four per headdress. The possible association with these non-IA hair styles points to Rudra’s connection with a non-IA, as pointed out especially by Dandekar (1979: 199-277), despite Srinivasan’s argument highlighted above.

2. 3c An. Rare cadence $\cup \cup - x$.

praty aṣṭhāḥ: All PS manuscripts preserve RUKI under non-RUKI conditions in this instance. Here what would be expected if the RUKI rule were followed [$s > \emptyset / r$, high vowels (i, u) and velar stops] would be *praty aṣṭhāḥ*. Since, the RUKI trigger is not immediately preceding the affected s, as in *tīṣṭhati*, where the trigger, the high vowel i, immediately precedes the affected sibilant. In our case since the original high vowel i (<y>) is separated by the augment vowel a, one would not

expect RUKI to apply. However, the preservation of RUKI under non-immediate RUKI conditions is not unknown in Vedic. Bloomfield (1932: 460-61) notes variants in some compound verbs in which RUKI is applied with non-immediate trigger. In most of these cases, the intervening vowel is the augment: *vy aṣṭabhnā* (VS, ŚB *askabhnā*, MS *aṣkabhnā*, KS *aṣṭabhnā*, TS *askabhnād*, TĀ *aṣṭabhnād*) *rodāśī; abhy aṣṭhām* (TS, KS, ApŚ *asthād*, MS *asthām*) *viśvāḥ pṛtanā arātīḥ* AV, MŚ; *tena devā vyasahanta śatrūn* AV; *yasmād bhīṣā nyasadaḥ* TB, ŚŚ, ApŚŚ. Bloomfield notes that this change is rare in the RV but becomes more common in the later saṃhitā-s.

3. **paśyata:** Meter requires the syllabic restoration of -*ya-* in order to regularize meter. However, -*ya-* restoration does not seem to be attested in the RV. Arnold (1905) does not note *paśya* as an exception to syllabic restoration. It may be the case that *paśya* in post-Rgvedic period became an accepted metrical option.

jalāṣabheṣajin: Another friendly or beneficial aspect of Rudra is highlighted by this term. Rudra is often asked to remove disease. This is further highlighted in 14.4.7 when Rudra's missiles are addressed as *ayakṣmayā*, 'non consumptive' – in other words that his arrows do not carry *yaksma* 'consumption, tuberculosis'. See Macdonell (1897: 74-77).

kṣepam: 'related to the thrower'. This term is not attested in the RV or the ŚŚ. In a ritual context, it could be understood as the priest pacifying Rudra's ability to throw his missiles at us and cause harm, and thus keep away the *vātikāra*

disease. With the information provided by PS 15.16, *kṣepam* probably refers to the wounds caused by the thrower (of arrows).

vātikara: Appears as a type of *yakṣma* in ŚŚ 9.8.20. Zysk (1993) suggests that it is associated with gastric problems and may hint at the beginning of the *tridoṣa* doctrine. PS 15.16.6: *vātikāreṇa ca kṣipatsya- [-aghasyāghaviṣa ca yā arundhati tvam tasyāsi viṣasya viṣadūṣanī]* ‘And with the vātikara-disease of thrown (arrows) and the dangerous poison of evil (?) , O Arudhati, you are poison-destroying for this poison,’ In this stanza, *vatikara* is connected with an illness caused by that that is throw, possibly arrows, against which the Arundhati plant is a remedy.

4. 4d An. Uncommon cadence ---x.

b = *námas te rudra manyáve* VS 16.1^a; TS 4.5.1.1^a; MS 2.9.2^a; 4.12.1; KS 17.11^a; ŠBM 9.1.1.14; ApŚŚ 17.11.4; MŚŚ 5.1.9.18; c = *báhubhyām utá te námah* VS 16.1^c; TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^b; ŠB 9.1.1.14; d = *utó ta íśave námah* VS 16.1^b; TS 4.5.1.1^b, MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^c; ŠB 9.1.1.14.

5. a = *yáṁ íśum gíriśanta* VS 16.3^a; TS 4.5.1.1^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; ŠvetU 3.6^a; b = *háste bibhárṣy ástave* VS 16.3^b, TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; ŠvetU 3.6^b; c = *śiváṁ gíritra táṁ kuru* VS 16.3^c; TS 4.5.1.2^c; MS (^o*giriśa*) 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; ŠvetU 3.6^c; d = *máḥ himsīḥ púruṣāṁ jagat* VS 16.3^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d; ŠvetU 3.6^d.

giriśanta: This word is restricted to the Nīlarudra text as preserved in the PS and in the YV texts. Mayrhofer *EWA* sub, *giri-sá*: ‘auf den Bergen wohnend,’ from śi

‘liegen.’ Wackernagel-Debrunner (2.2: 81): “Vielleicht stammt giriśá- lediglich aus haplogischer Kürzung (I 279 § 214 a α) von *giri-sáyāya* mit spielerischem Anschluß an ep. Kl. *giriśā* (Beiname Śiva’s “Herr der Berge”).” Cf. also Mayrhofer *EWA* sub *níśitā*.

6. a = *śivéna vácasā tvā* VS 16.4^a; TS 4.5.1.2^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *giriśācchā vadāmasi* VS 16.4^b; TS 4.5.1.2^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *yáthā nah sárvam ij jágar* VS 16.4^c; TS 3.2.8.6^c, 4.5.1.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *ayakṣmám sumáno asat* VS 16.4^d; TS 3.2.8.6^d, 4.5.1.2^d; = *samgame*° MS 1.3.15^d, 1.11.4^d, 2.2.6^d, 2.9.2^d; KS 10.12^d, 14.2^d; = *samgatyām* RV 10.141.4^d; AV 3.20.6^d.

yakṣman: ‘consumption, tuberculosis.’ According to Zysk (1993), *yakṣman* is the general, internal disease demon that attacks both humans and animals. It invades every part of the body and causes the disintegration of the limbs, fever, heartache, and pain in all body parts. In other words, it seems to be associated with the general condition of decay of the body.

7. 7d An. Uncommon opening x u u -.

a = *yá ta iṣuh śivátamā* TS 4.5.1.1^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *śivám babhúva te dhánuḥ* TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *śivā śaravyā yá tavā* TS 4.5.1.1^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *táya no mṛda jīváse* VS 16.49^d; VSK (°*mṛda*°) 17.8.3^d; TS 4.5.10.1^d; MS 2.7.9^d; KS 17.11^d. 17.16^d.

8. a = *yá te rudra śivā tanúḥ* VS 16.2^a; TS 1.5.1.1^a, 4.5.10.1^a; MS 2.9.2^h, 2.9.9^a; KS 17.11^a, 17.16^a; ŚvetU 3.5^a; b = *ághorápāpakāśinī* VS 16.2^b; TS 4.5.1.1^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; ŚvetU 3.5^b; c = *táyā nas tanvāśántamaya* VS 16.2^c, TS

4.5.1.1^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; ŚvetU (*tanuvaḍ*) 3.5^b; d = *giriśantābhí cakaśīhi* VS 16.2^d; TS 4.5.1.1^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d; ŚvetU 3.5^d.

⁺*cākaśah*: 2nd sg. Subjunctive from the Intensive of *vikaś* ‘appear’. The intensive stem *cākaś* produces two attested forms in the RV *cākasīmi* and *cākasīti* as well as *abhyacākaśam*. In AV, Whitney (1899: 366) notes three plural subjunctive *praticākaśān* in 6.29.3 as being marked “with double mode-sign. Cf. Schaefer (1994: 102-104). Although not attested, the manuscripts converge on this form with little variation. We must assume that the archetype had this form; otherwise, we are forced to propose an attested form while discarding the evidence of the manuscript. Such a step would create, like Whitney’s text of ŚS, a mish-mash text which is not really the PS.

tanū: The translation body, of a physical entity, does not seem to work here. Gardner (1998: 322) has pointed out that the corporeality of *tanū* in the post-Rgvedic texts is “still tempered by the use of *śarīra* to designate the body and the frequent use of *tanū* as part of the composite self of the BYV and later Vedic texts.” In the AV, both ŚS and PS, *tanū* seems to be used for the most part to refer to humans. Both saṁhitā-s follow the distinction between the language of the gods and the language of men for *tanū*. Gardner translates *tanū* as presence when it refers to the gods. In the present verse, there is no attempt to provide a physical description of Rudra’s *tanū*. Rather, the poet seems to point to the intention of his presence – appeasing it by labeling it *sīva* ‘friendly.’

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Notes

9. a = *asáu yás tāmró arunáḥ* VS 16.6^a; TS 4.5.1.2^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *utá babhrūr sumangalah* VS 16.6^b; TS 4.5.1.2^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *yé cainam rudrá ábhito* VS 16.6^c; KS (°ceme°) 17.11^c; *ye ceme abhito rudrāḥ* MS 2.9.2^c; TS (°cemáṁ rudrá abhítah) 4.5.1.2^c; d = *diksú śritáḥ sáhasrasó* VS 16.6^d; TS 4.5.1.3^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d.

9a An. Rare cadence – ∪ ∪ x.

īmahe: See 13.6.2n above.

Rudrās: designates the ubiquitous spirits and demons that come with a terrible god Rudra, who are part of his being and denote his influence. Frequently, this term is assigned to the Maruts because they are to be the offspring of Rudra, for example in RV 1.114.6, 5.60.5. However, the Rudrās often appear as distinct group different from the Maruts. The Rudrās are said to be eleven in number (ŚB 4.5.7.2 and AB 1.10.8) but thirty-three in TS 1.4.11.1. They are often referred to as *rudragaṇa-s*, *bhūta-s*, or *śivagaṇa-s*. Later the term *gaṇa* represents only Śiva's band of semi-divine attendants who are often sent ahead as messengers, for example in the Purāṇic story of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice.

10. a = *asáu yo vásarpati* VS 16.7^a; TS 4.5.1.3^a; KS 17.11^a; MS 2.9.2^a; b = *nílagrīvo vilohitah* VS 16.7^b; TS 4.5.1.3^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *utáinam gopá adṛśran* VS 16.7^c; TS (°adṛśan°) 4.5.1.3^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *utainam udahāryah* MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d; VS (*adṛśrann udahāryah*) 16.7^d; TS (*adṛśrann udahāryah*) 4.5.13^d; e = *utáinam viśvā bhūtāni* TS 4.5.1.3^e; MS 2.9.2^e; KS 17.11^e;

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Notes

f= *sá dr̥sto mr̥dayāti nah* VS 16.7^e; VSK (^o*mṛla*^o) 17.1.7^e; TS 4.5.1.3^f; MS 2.9.2^f; KS
17.11^f

10c An. Rare cadence – u u x. **10d An.** Rare opening x u u –.

Paippalāda Saṃhitā 14.4
Notes

1. a = *námo 'stu nīlagrīvāya* VS 16.8^a; TS (*námo astu*^ρ) 4.5.1.3^a; MS 2.9.4; KS 17.11^a. b = *sahasrāksāśya mīdhuse* VS 16.8^b; TS 4.5.1.3^b; MS 2.9.8^b; KS 17.11^b; VSK °*mīlhuse*° 17.1.8^b. c = *átho yé asya sátvānah* VS 16.8^c; TS 4.5.1.3^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c. d = *ahám tébhyo karam námah* VS 16.8^d; TS 4.5.1.3^d; KS 17.11^d; *idám tébhyo karam námah* RV 10.85.17^d; MS 2.9.2^d.

1c An. Rare cadence ∪ ∪ – x. 1d An. Uncommon opening x – ∪ ∪.

sátvānah: AB mentions the *satvan* in its enumeration of the tribes around the ‘middle country.’ The *satvan-s* are counted among the Southerners. The location of this tribe is still known to the composer and compilers of ŚB who live in the Kosala and Videha area, an area farther east than that of AB and PS. Cf. Mayrhofer *EWA* sub *sátvan-*. See Witzel (1987b).

- 2 a = *námāmsi ta āyudhāyā-* KS 17.11^a; VS (*námas ta*^ο) 16.14^a, MS 2.9.2^a; *námas té astv āyudhāyā-* TS 4.5.1.4^a; b = *ánātatāya dhṛṣṇāve* VS 16.14^b; TS 4.5.1.4^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *ubhábhyaṁ akáram námah* AV 11.2.16^d; *ubhábhyaṁ utá te námah* VS 16.14^c; TS 4.5.1.4^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *bāhúbhyaṁ táva dhánvane* VS 16.14^d; TS 4.5.1.4^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d.

2a An. Rare cadence – ∪ – x.

- 3 a = *prámuñca dhánvanas páry tvám* VS 16.9^a; TS 4.5.1.3^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *ubháyor ártnyor jyám* VS 16.9^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; TS (*°ártniyor*^ο) 4.5.1.3^b; c = *yáś ca te hásta ísavah* VS 16.9^c; TS 4.5.1.3^c; KS 17.11^c; MS (*°hástā*^ο) 2.9.2^c; d = *pára tā bhagavo vapa* VS 16.9^d; TS 4.5.1.4^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d.

⁺ārtnyor: The form which all manuscripts preserve, *ātmyor* must go back to *G as both *D and *B are likely to have shared this mistake already. The loss of -r- in a VrC cluster, where it is represented, even in the earliest Nāgarī with a small hook or notch opening to the right on top of the cluster consonant, can happen very easily. It is not a difficult copying mistake to imagine especially for someone copying into Śāradā or E. Nāgarī/Orissa.

4. a = *avatātya dhánus tvám* VS 16.3^a; MS 2.9.2^a; ^o*dhanus tvam* TS 4.5.1.4^a; KS 17.11^a, 2.9.9^c; b = *sáhasrākṣa sátesudhe* VS 16.13^b; TS 4.5.1.4^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 7.11^b; c = *niśírya sályáñām mukhā* VS 16.13^c; TS 4.5.1.4^c; KS 17.11^c; MS (*prasírya*^o) 2.9.2c; d = *sívó naḥ sumánā bhava* VS 16.13^d, 51d; TS 4.5.1.4^d, 4.5.10.4^b; MS 2.9.2^d; KS 17.11^d, 17.16^b.

mukhā: Older A. n. form in -ā. This form is the older and more common one in the RV. However, it continues to be used in the AV and other saṁhitā-s. See Macdonell (1910: 260).

5 a = *vijyam dhánuḥ karpadinaḥ* VS 16.10^a; TS 4.5.1.4^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *viśalyo vāñavān utá* VS 16.10^b; TS (^o*bāñavān*^o) 4.5.1.4b; MS (^o*bāñavān*^o) 2.9.2b; KS (^o*bāñavān*^o) 17.11^b; c = *áneśann asya yaśisavah* VS 16.10^c; MS 2.9.2^c; TS (^o*asyeśavah*^o) 4.5.1.4^c; KS (^o*asyeśavah*^o) 17.11^c; d = *ābhūr asya niṣaṅgadhiḥ* VS 16.10^d; TS (^o*niṣaṅgathih*) 4.5.1.4^d; *ābhūr asya niṣaṅgáthih* MS 2.9.2^d, KS 17.11^d.

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Notes

aneśan: 3rd pl. Reduplicated aorist of *vñasá*. Hoffmann (1967: 64) states:

nesá- “dessen Vokalismus sich nur durch den schwachen Perfektstamm *nes* (3 Pl. *nesuh*, ŠB; 3 Sg *nanāsa* RV) begreifen lässt.”

niṣaṅgathi: The original reading according to Gotō (19800: 28) “dürfte wohl *niṣaniga-dhí*- (bewahrt in VS und vielleicht auch in KpS) gewesen sein, welches als metricsh bedingte Augenblicksbildung durch Kontamination von *niṣariga-* mit *iṣudhí*- ‘Köcher’ entstanden ist.” *niṣanigadhi* was remodeled into *niṣaṅgathi*. In the PS manuscripts, -thi- > -ti- is the result of deaspiration of aspirated consonants that is frequent in Kashmir and Orissa.

6 a = *pári te dhánvano hetih* VS 16.12^a; TS 4.5.1.4^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; b = *asmán vṛṇaktu viśvátaḥ* VS 16.12^b; TS 4.5.1.4^b; MS 2.9.2^b; KS 17.11^b; c = *átho yá iṣudhís tava* VS 16.12^c; TS 4.5.1.4^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *āré asmán ní dhehi tám* VS 16.12^d; TS 4.5.1.4^d; KS 17.11^d; MS (^o*asmín*) 2.9.2d.

7 a = *yá te hétir mīḍhuṣama* VS 16.11^a; TS 4.5.1.4^a; MS 2.9.2^a; KS 17.11^a; VSK (^o*mīlhustama*) 17.1.10^a; b = *háste babhúva te dhánuḥ* VS 16.11^b; TS 4.5.1.4^b; KS 17.11^b; MS (^o*sivám*) 2.9.2^b; c = *táyāsmán viśvátaś tvám* VS 16.11^c; TS 4.5.1.4^c; MS 2.9.2^c; KS 17.11^c; d = *ayakṣmáyā pári bhuja* VS 16.11^d; TS 4.5.1.4^d; MS 2.9.2^d; KS (^o*ayakṣmēṇa*) 17.11d.

1. On feminine *-ant* (*-anti*), see Wackernagel-Debrunner, *AIG* (2.2: 419-419, 3: 254-263). Cf. *anapasphurantīm*, RV 4.42.10 and *pratirantī* RV 7.77.5.
2. 2c Tr. Uncommon cadence --- x.

grbhñāmi: All manuscripts are unanimous on this reading. As noted above, PS 14.1.9n, both *grbhñā-* and *grhñā-* are attested in the RV as well as in the ŚS, with inverse proportional distribution. Since the ŚS attests a few examples of *grbhñā-*, it is not inconceivable that a similar distribution existed in its sister samhitā. At the present stage of the edition of the PS, it is difficult to be sure as to the distribution of these two root-alternant. Perhaps as the systematic critical re-editing of the PS continues, we might be able to gain a better insight on this issue. From Bhattacharya (1997) it is impossible to make a determination. A cursory search of the books of the PS so far edited shows that the manuscripts mostly agree on reading *grhñā-*. However there are at least three instances (PS 8.2.2, 9.7.5, and 10.4.10) where all manuscripts agree in reading *grbhñā-* (based on the variant readings provided by Bhattacharya (1997)).

medhyām ‘full of *medha*, of juice’ connects this term to idea of sacrifice and drink. The sacrificial offering is trans-substantiated by means of the fire into *asu* and *medha*, which are the substances that the gods can consume. Cf. VādhŚS 4.16.

śraddadhānah: This expression carries the sense of *śraddhā*, ‘confident intention in the efficacy of sacrifice.’ It expresses both the intention to perform the ritual as well as the firm belief in the efficacy of the ritual. It is an expression of the old IE belief in ‘faith’, Latin *credo*, Avestan *zraz-dā*. Recently, Jamison (1996: 176-

84) has provided an excellent analysis of *śraddhā* following Thieme's suggestion of *śraddhā* as an expression of the trust or agreement among strangers in the context of hospitality. Jamison identifies a number of passages in late Vedic and an Epic text in which giving is found exclusively in the context of guest/host relations. She concludes that in non-ritual contexts "the concrete manifestation of *śraddhā* is giving in this world" (183).

3. This verse parallels the well-known expression regarding the killing of the horse in the Aśvamedha, RV 1.161. The idea expressed in that hymn is that the horse is not really killed. In the PS hymn, the same language is being used for the *śataudanā*-cow. The new (or perhaps old) and interesting twist is the method of killing the sacrificial animal. In the Rgvedic period, the sacrificial animal was decapitated (outside the *vedi*) while in the classical rituals, the sacrificial animal was suffocated. Here, we see what may be perhaps an older or artificially archaic method of killing the sacrificial animal by stoning, presumably done also outside the *vedi* (to prevent blood from being spilled in the *vedi*, following Heesterman). See n. 4 below.

4. **ā rabhasva:** For the distribution of *ā + rabh/labh* in Vedic, see Gotō (1976).

śatapāpmāno asyāḥ: The 'hundred evils' may refer to the evils incurred by the *yajamāna* by the killing of the sacrificial victim or to the transfer of *yajamāna*'s evil onto the cow. The conception that killing has a negative effect on the sacrificer even when it is required in the sacrifice begins to appear clearly in the later Vedic

texts like JB 1.42-44 and ŚB 11.6.1.1. During his travels in the underworld, Bhṛgu observes a reverse world – a world where animals killed in the sacrifice eat those who had killed them in the sacrifice.

A small group of formulas called *pāpmāno vinidhayah*, recorded in BŚS 2.8, has been preserved for getting rid of the evils of the sacrificer. Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra 4.7.5-11 states that this sūtra is for one who desires to be free of all sorts of evils. According to BŚS, before the sacrificer is to set up the sacred fires and before performing the Gopitryajñā, he performs the ritual of the *pāpmāno vinidhayah*. The ritual takes place at a cross-road, after the sacrificer has taken a morning bath. There he gazes at his reflection in the pot filled with water and recites the formulas from the *pāpmāno vinidhayah*. The formulas of BŚS 2.5 aim at directing the sacrificer's evils toward objects, being, or regions characterized by the very evils or deficiencies which the sacrificer's aims to eliminate: *simhe me manyuh / vyāghre me 'ntarāmayaḥ / vṛke me ksut...dhanvani me pipāsā...bhrātrvye me pāpmā*: '(May) my anger (go) towards the lion. My internal ailment towards the tiger. My hunger to the wolf...My desire for drinking to the desert...My evil to (my) cousin.' See Kashikar (1969, 1970). Cf. Schmidt (1968, 1997).

śatapāpmāno asyāḥ could also be interpreted as the sacrificer transferring his evils – those that he might incur by killing the sacrificial animal – onto the auspicious cow. Considering the great power this ritual is said to have, the power to cleanse the sacrificer from evil incurred in the ritual itself (ritual errors?) might not be such an impossible idea.

samarpayann aśmanā: *arpaya-* in the RV, according to Jamison (1984: 80)

means ‘fit together’. However, Jamison also notes that “once *arpayati* was built, it could be used for the entire root *r*, and it is fairly common in later Skt. in a variety of meaning besides fit in.’ This seems to be the case already in AV, where one finds *arpaya-* from \sqrt{AR}^2 ‘come, hinkommen, to reach, erreichen, to strike somebody, auf [jemanden] treffen,’ as well as *arpaya-* from \sqrt{AR}^1 ‘send,’ For example AV 5.22.6 *dāśūm niṣṭākvarīm iha tām vājrena sám arpaya* ‘seek the run-away female *dāśī*. Strike her with the *vraja*’ Cf. RV 10.155.2, AV 8.4.1, 6.6.6, PS 2.85.1, and PSK 19.39.9, for further evidence of the meaning ‘to strike’. Zehnder (1999: 186-87) notes at PS 2.85.1 for *bhrūṇāny arpaya*: “Aus inhaltlichen Gründen ist hier *arpaya-* als doppelt-transitiv aufgefasst; gemäss der grammatischen Theorie müsste bei einem Kaus. wie *arpaya-* das Subjekt des transitiven. Grundverbs in den Instr. treten, z.B. MS 3.3.5:37.14: *yám evá dvéṣṭi tām agnēḥ śucārpayat*” [whom he hates, he strikes him with the flame of Agni].

The idea of killing the sacrificial animal by a method other than decapitation or strangulation is not foreign to Vedic ritual. ŚB speaks of the method by which the sacrificial animal is struck on the frontal lobe. ŚBM 3.8.1.15: *tasya na kūṭena praghnanti mānuṣam hi tan no' eva paścātkarnam pitṛdevatyam* ‘they do not strike it with the hammer, for [that is] the human way; nor behind the ear, for [that is] sacred to the Pitṛ-s.’ ŚBK 4.8.1.15 *tasya na kūṭena praghnanti mānuṣam ha kuryād yad asya kūṭena prahanyur* ‘They do not strike it with the hammer. Indeed, he would do as a human if he should strike it with the hammer.’ In other words,

humans kill the sacrificial victim by striking it with a hammer. Stones themselves were the earliest types of hammer. Indeed, the idea of a weapon made of stone is nothing new in the Veda since Indra's *vajra* is said to be made of stone (RV 4.1.13, 10.139.5). Note *ásim-* < *Hk[^]am 'hammer,' cf. Mayrhofer *EWA* sub *ásman*. It is conceivable that this method of killing the sacrificial animal involved hammering the animal with a stone, stone-hammer or stone-axe.

Killing someone by striking them in the head with a hammer is also present in late Vedic texts. JB 1.46 speaks about the way to heaven for someone who has died. That deceased person is approached by one of the seasons (*ṛtu*) with hammer in hand (*ṛtūnām eko yaḥ kūṭahasto*) who asks him what his name is. When he does not answer (even though he may know the answer), the *ṛtu* kills him with his hammer. JB 2.269 tells about Yavakrī Saumastambhi who was about to be punished by a *gandharva* (with hammer in hand) for sleeping with an *apsaras*. Killing someone or something by smashing its head with a hammer seems to be clearly connected with the divine sphere as only ancestors, the seasons and *gandharvas* (ritually) kill in that way. See Witzel (1987d).

aśmanā: Must mean stone here as verse 3 above. *ásman* never means heaven in the RV, according to Oldenberg (1912-: 61): "daß áśman 'Himmel' zu übersetzen oder vom H. zu verstehen (so u. A. Berg. 1. 241 – anders Etudes s.v. –, Bartholomae 1F. 19 Beiheft 173 A.1) könnte allzu avestisch sein. Mir scheint Geldner Komm. mit besserem Recht an die Felshöhle zu denken: der

Nachtbeherrschter Var. lässt sehen “was die Sonne im Fels(verschluß ist) und das Dunkel.”

5. 5a Tr. Uncommon opening x ० – ०. 5c Tr. Caesura after 3rd syllable.

Virāj must refer to the cosmogonic cow *virāj* that is the subject of AV 8.10.

The connection here seems to be with AV 8.10.24 which speak of Pr̥thi, son of Vena, milking from *virāj*, the cow, both cultivation and grain. This story is connected to the *pārtha* libations of the unction portion of the Rājasūya. According to Heesterman (1957), the offering of the *pārtha* libations re-enacts the milking of *virāj* and thus making of the animal and vegetable worlds productive for the king. AV 8.10 extols *virāj* as the source of the universe from which all were born. This idea is already present in RV 10.90 where *virāj* is born from *puruṣa* and *puruṣa* is born, again, from *virāj* in order to ‘create’ the rest of the cosmos. In a similar manner, the present hymn extols the cow as the source of fruits that could be produced by performing all the other sacrifices.

6 **nāmadheyāni:** This verse seems to be connected with aspects of the Aśvamedha ritual. In particular, it seems to echo the portion of the Aśvamedha when the names of the horses are recited, MS 3.12.4, TS 7.1.12, VS 22.19, TB 3.8.9.1-3, 3.8.17.1, 3.9.19.1 and ŚB 131.6.1.2. During the ritual, the sacrificer whispers the *aśvanāmāni* into the right ear of the horse. *Aśvanāmāni* includes *aśva*, *haya*, *arya*, *maya*, *nara*, *arva*, *sapti*, *vāji*, *vṛṣa*, *nṛmāṇa*, *yayur*. Both TB and ŚB state *etad va aśvasya priyam nāmadheyam* ‘this is the horse’s beloved name.’ In the

context of the sacrifice of the *sātaudanā*-cow, a similar list of names must have been part of the ritual. Already in the RV, we find Idā as the name of the Soma cow.

Like the horse that is killed in the Aśvamedha, RV 1.162-3, the cow goes to the place of the gods immediately upon being sacrificed. Here there is no mention of the cow dying but only of immediately being with gods. This fits well with RV 1.162.21: *ná vā u etán myase na riṣyasi devāṁ id esī pathibhiḥ sugébhiḥ* ‘Indeed, you do not die from this nor are you hurt. You just go to the gods on easygoing paths’. One list of the names of the cow is found in MS 4.2.9, the Gonāmika section.

7. 7b Tr. Rare break | ∘ – ∘. 7c Tr. Uncommon break – | ∘ –. 7d Tr. Unique break | – – ∘. The cadence of this pāda is uncommon ∘ – ∘ x.

mahādamah: Perhaps from *vdam* ‘to control, bändigen,’ which is already attested in the RV. In the context of the ritual, this fits nicely as the verse refers to sacrificial actions that must be carefully performed.

Aghnyāyāḥ ‘the one not to be killed’ is regularly applied to the cow. In the ritual context, this term again highlights that the sacrifice is not killing. The constant assurance that the early texts provide about the sacrifice not killing has been connected by HP Schmidt (1968; 1997) with the later pan-Indian concept of *ahimsā* ‘non-violence’. This early concern with trying to somehow remove killing from the sacrifice leads, in the classical ritual, to ritual manipulations that result in the sacrificial animal agreeing to be killed. In the ritual, the animal is sprinkled

with water, causing it to shake its head side to side, which for Indians, as well as Greeks, means ‘yes.’

Narten (1971) has explained *aghnya* in connection with the waters. Originally, the term was used in mantra-s recited during a swearing/oath ceremony that involved touching water. She reconstructs a mantra: *‘ápo aghnyā iḥá mām avantu.* Narten concludes that in this old mantra there is no enumeration but rather an apposition of *aghnya* and *āpa*: “Das heißt: *aghnyāḥ*, erlesene Kühe’ ist eine dichterische Bezeichnung für *āpah*, die Wasser.” This hypothesis is further supported by Yasna Haptanhāti 38.5 where the waters are equated with *agəniāś*.

8. **bradhnam:** could also be *vradhnam* because of the confusion in writing of b ~ v, which is prevalent. In Orissa, there is only one sign for both of these letters. *vradhnam* could refer to the initial layer of fat found upon peeling off the skin of the cow.

The elements of ritual expressed in the present hymn are also found in the Aśvamedha as described in VādhB 3.94. There the horse is said to be cut up and its skin removed: *yo ha smety āhur etasya purā prathama āchyati, murdhā ha smāsyā vipatati* ‘they say: who used to cut off the skin of that (horse) as first, his head flies apart.’ This procedure is to be performed in a very specific manner otherwise one’s head will fly apart.: *aham te vaksyāmi yathā tvam evāśvam viśasiṣyasi, no te mūrdhā vi patiṣyati* ‘I will tell you in the manner you will cut apart the horse (so) that your head will not fly apart.’ See Witzel (1987d).

9 9a Tr. Rare break ∪ | --.

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meni: Jamison (1996) discusses this concept in the context of hospitality.

She understands the concept as “the force that punishes those who neglect or perform incorrectly their hospitality obligations”(192). In the present PS context, although it does not fall clearly into Jamison’s ritual economy, there certainly seems to be a sense of *meni*/being a result of a violation or possible violation of some ritual injunction, perhaps ‘do not shake’. However, the possibility remains open, as Jamison suggests, “it is also possible that such litanies have been abstracted from a context in which exchange has indeed been thwarted” (197). Since in our context from the previous verse is \sqrt{vadh} ‘to slay, kill’, the translation “revenge” seems most appropriate.

2. 2c Tr. Uncommon cadence —— x. Restoring *°deviyam* still produces an uncommon Jagatī cadence.

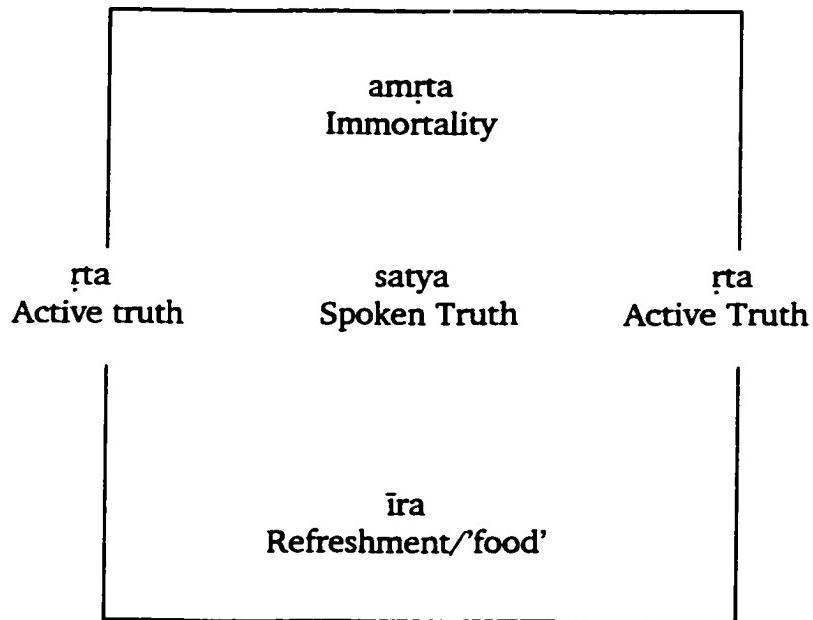
tr̥tye nāke adhi viṣṭapi: The idea of the third step on the highest point of the sky reminds one of the myth of Viṣṇu's three strides (*trivikrama*) through the universe. The third step by Viṣṇu was conceived as mysterious and invisible to the human eye. Viṣṇu is associated with Virāj and with Aditi who are in turn associated with food and often referred to as cow (or even the cosmic cow). Both are called Viṣṇupatnī and *dhruvā́dīk*. Thus, it is no surprise that the *sataudanā*-cow, which has been identified as Virāj, should be found in the third [step] on the highest point in the sky, Viṣṇu's invisible final step. See above PS 13.7.8n above. Cf. Kuiper (1983: 41-56).

3. 14.6.3c = TS 3.3.11.4d, TB 2.4.2.8d.

6. ⁺aruroho: 2nd sg. Pluperfect of *vṛuh*. These forms are rare in the saṃhitā-s (Macdonell 1968:364). Thieme does not note a pluperfect form of *vṛuh* but notes a few pluperfects in AV. Cf. Thieme (1929: 35-50). All manuscripts agree in a reduplicated form with augment and secondary endings. The augment is absent in Kā but the secondary ending has been preserved. See 13.3.8n above.

7-8. These two verses provide insight into how Vedic seer/poets visualized the cosmos in terms of ‘abstract notions’ – *rta*, *śraddhā*, *anna*, *satya*, etc. In a similar fashion as the Puruṣa Hymn RV 10.90 portrays the cosmos as being formed from parts of the “primordial man,” the author of the present verses has used the body of the sacrificial cow to represent the inter-relation of these forces in the cosmos. Here

the cosmos – space filled up by the *sātaudanā*-cow – is framed within *rta*, the governing force in the cosmos. Within that frame, other abstract forces are contained as well. A simplified picture looks as follows:



The cosmos is understood as the well-ordered and creative sphere of *rta* ‘the force of active truth’. This sphere is defined by the inter-relation and inter-action of these abstract notions, which is reflected in ritual. For example, *śraddhā* ‘confident intention in the efficacy of ritual’ is necessary for the performance and positive results of ritual: long-life, progeny, wealth, and heaven. The last of these, heaven, is nothing else than immortality (*amṛta*) in the next world. Immortality (*amṛta*) is achieved via ritual and it seems to be intimately connected with nourishment (*anna*), cf. TU 3.10; the length one’s stay in heaven is dependent on how much nourishment for the heavenly-body is accumulated. However, *rta* is not the only abstract notion, which frame this eternal cycle of interactions. *rta* ‘obligation’ is

also simultaneously in the outer frame of this system. The three *ma-s* – to the gods, to the ancestors and the ancient poets – also frames and sets in motion the cycle of obligation. Finally, we should note that the cosmos is not void outside of the *rta* frame. The negative power of *nirṛtir* ‘complete annihilation’ exists outside of the *rta*-ordered cosmos, and it continually impinges into this sphere via her representatives – *rakṣas*, disease, (*takman*, etc.), *meni* ‘revenge,’ etc.

The image of this verse clearly conceptualizes of *satya* is seen as subset of *rta*. In other words, *rta* is also *satya* but *satya* does not include *rta*. Cf. PS 13.13n above. Also, we can observe here an analogous relationship between *īra* and *rta* and the relationship of *anna* ‘food’ and *rta* in TU 3. *īra* ‘refreshment,’ as some kind of nourishment, is related directly to *rta* – almost as *prathamajā rтasya* – and consequently to *amṛta* ‘immortality.’ In fact the same type of relation among *rta*, *īra* and *amṛta* is expressed here in TU 3. Cf. Lopez (1997).

8. ‘*vaniṣṭhu*: This is not a clearly identified organ. In the context of this hymn, it seems to refer to the interior organ of the cow. Following Bodewitz (1992), it may refer to rennet stomach (*abomasum*) of the cow. The *abomasum*, true stomach of the cow, normally lies low down in the right front quadrant of the abdomen, just inside the 7th through 11th ribs. Adjacent to the *abomasum*, on the left side of the abdomen, is the large first stomach, or *rumen*. The *jathara* probably refers to the rumen, both of which are enclosed within the rib cage (*pārsve*). What the identification might be here remains problematic. This verse probably continues the identification of parts of the *sāraudanā-cow* with parts of the cosmos in the

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same manner as BAU 1.1-2. Cf. ŚŚ 9.5.20 where the *pārs̄vau* ‘the two sides/ribs’ of the goat are identified with heaven and earth. See Bodewitz (1992) and Jamison (1987). On the anatomy of the cow’s stomach, see <http://muextension.missouri.edu/xplor/agguides/pests/g07701.htm>.

Cf. RV 10.90.13, eye = sun.

10 **ārpitā:** In context it must mean ‘to fix.’ Cf. above PS 14.5.6

1. The meaning of the first pāda remains unclear. It seems to point to an aspect of ritual. In particular, it may be a reference to the Vedic version of the Greek *hekatómbe* ‘the sacrifice that wins a hundred cows,’ Sanskrit *satāgvīn* (from *kñto-gv-ā). Cf. Thieme (1995).
2. **papātha:** 2nd sg. Perfect of *vṛpā* ‘to drink.’ Admittedly, ‘to drink the cow’ does not make much sense. However, with the ‘tasting’ in the next verse and the fact that Indra ‘took the strength and vigor of the *asura-s* by means of her,’ one could think of something that is being drunk here, perhaps something made with the cow’s milk. One could also think of *vṛpā* ‘to protect,’ but this root does not make a perfect. With the tasting in the next verse, it could be that part of this ritual involves the drinking of some offering – perhaps milk or curds prepared from the *śataudanā*-cow’s milk.

prathamāś śataudanām: In this instance, all of the Orissa manuscripts have used ḥ before following ś-. This seems to be the result of a scribe having standardized the sibilant sandhi in the Orissa tradition, probably at the time of *B or shortly thereafter. As is suggested by PS 14.7.3 (and others), we can be certain that -ś ś- was the sibilant sandhi of the archetype.

sapta ṛṣayah ‘seven seers,’ as a group are mentioned four times in the RV (4.42.8, 10.82.2, 10.109.4, and 10.130.7). The above enumeration of the seven *ṛṣi-s* in this hymn seems to be one of the earliest such enumerations. Our handbooks note that the earliest enumeration, before the discovery of the PS, was the BĀU II 2, 6.

3. **Kaśyapas sapatamāḥ:** Another hint as to the secondary nature of the *visarga* in the PS. In this instance the scribe did not re-insert ḥ after having removed final -s. When compared with *prathamas̄ śataudana* in pāda d, where the scribe has re-inserted ḥ instead of archetypal -ś, except in Mā₁, the editorial activities of a learned scribe, probably at the time of *B or immediately after, are clearly visible. See 13.7.2n above. Not all of the Orissa manuscripts have reinserted the expected ḥ in *prathamas̄ śataudanā*. It is possible that -s s- went through an intermediate step > -ø s-, in a similar way as the common -s sC- > -ø -sC, as is suggested strongly by the evidence in pāda c.

Kaśyapa ‘tortoise,’ like Indra and Agni, is said to be the offspring of the waters, cf. above PS 14.1.2. The tortoise is said to be ‘lord of the waters’ in VS 13.131, and in the AV appears as identical with Prajāpati, where he is called *svayambhū* ‘self-born’ AV 19.53.10. In ŚB 7.4.3.5, Prajāpati is said to become tortoise and thus produce all creatures – already reminiscent of the Churning of the Ocean story in Mahābhārata and Rāmāyāna.

5. 5c Tr. Rare break – | --.

Mā₁, which more or less consistently marks pāda breaks, has placed the pāda break after *samvatsaram*. Whether the pāda break indicated in Mā₁ is correct or not, the only other metrical possibility is ‘*adhirājam samvatasaram | patim*’, which gives 7-11 and 11-8. It is also possible that pāda c had a *lacuna*, perhaps [prajāpatim] *patim asyā avidan*.

6. The **Agniṣṭoma** ritual is the basic Soma ritual, an *ekāha* – one day pressing in which Soma is pressed and offered in one day in a series of three pressings. It is characterized by a specific distribution of chants and recitations in three pressings: Prātaḥsavana ‘early morning pressing’, Mādhyandinasavana ‘midday pressing’, and the Trīyasaḥvana ‘third pressing’ or evening pressing. The Agniṣṭoma is the name of the twelfth chant that provides the name for the ritual. Although an *ekāha* ritual, it may be extended to last five days. See Caland (1906).

The **Atirātra** ritual falls under the generic category of Jyotiṣṭoma. These rites are often complex variations upon the basic pattern of the Agniṣṭoma. The Atirātra involves a series of 19 *stotra-s* and *sāstra-s* that are chanted during an offering made to Indra Apiśarvara during a single night.

7. The **Aśvamedha** or ‘Horse Sacrifice’ is an old ritual, Indo-European in origin, which is performed by the king in order to increase his kingdom and power. After a series of initial offerings, the horse is set free to wander protected by 400 soldiers. They must guard the horse against any danger, including bathing and intercourse. During the yearlong wandering of the horse, the king’s realm is expanded as the horse enters foreign territory. If the king of the territory attempts to stop the horse, battle will break out. If the king of the territory is defeated in battle, that territory comes under the rule of the king carrying out the Aśvamedha. If the horse is allowed to pass through a territory unchallenged, the area becomes part of the new realm.

The Vājapeya is another of the ‘great’ rituals. It consists of one pressing day and at least 13 days of consecration and three Upasad days so that it may last at least 17 days, but could be extended to last a whole year. Its key structure is the addition to the *sodasīn* - the 3rd basic Soma paradigm (Agniṣṭoma) which is dedicated to Indra and consists of 15 *stotra-s* and 15 *sāstra-s* and an additional 16th *stotra* and *sāstra*, called the *sodasīn*, to which a 17th *stotra* and *sāstra* is added. This ritual involves several unusual features: the most important being a race of 17 chariots and the climbing of the *yūpa* by the sacrificer and his wife. The ritual may be performed not only by a Brahmin or a *ksatriya*, but also by a *vaisya*. The Vājapeya’s aim is to increase the sacrificer’s prosperity.

8 The Agnihotra is the most basic Vedic ritual. It consists of two daily offerings of milk into the fire that comprises approximately 100 actions that take about 15 minutes. Its meaning is equally complicated. In essence, the ritual equates the guarding of fire at night with the safe passage of the sun through night ocean. In addition, the core desires of Vedic culture have been incorporated into this ritual: progeny, rain, cattle, long-life (100 years), and a place in heaven. See Bodewitz (1976) and Witzel (1982)

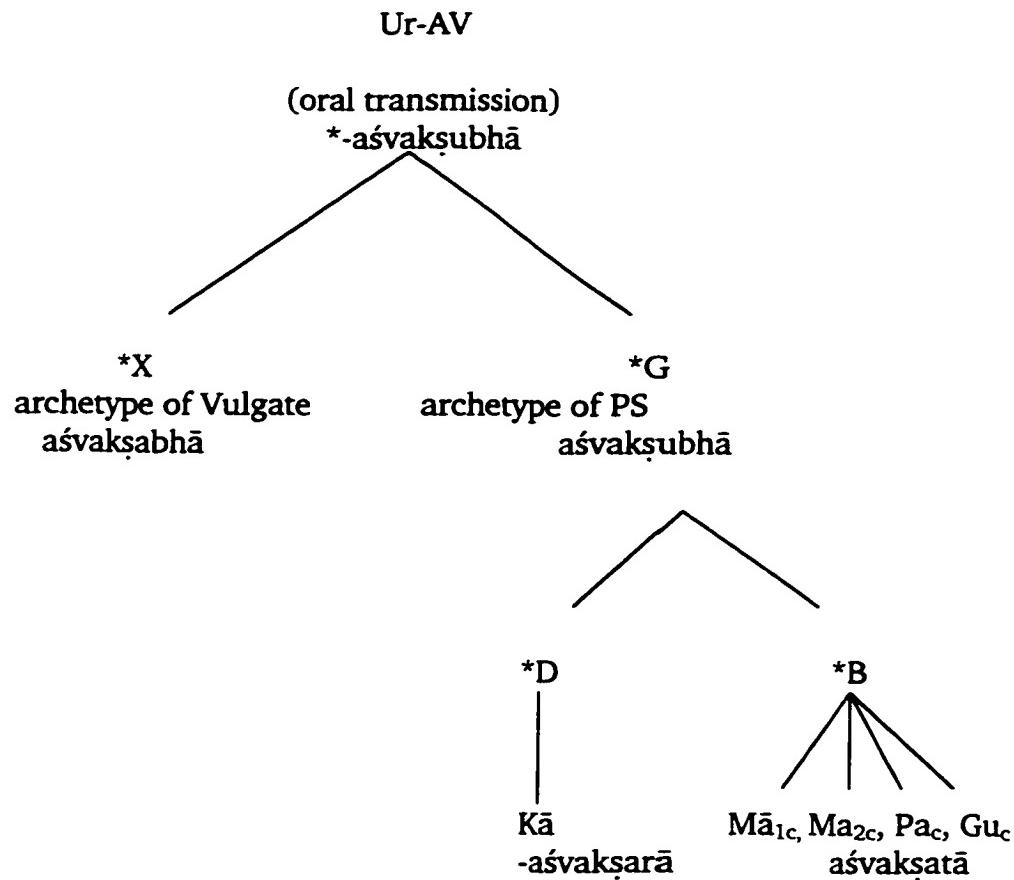
9. 9c Tr. 10 syllables.

1. ***-asvakṣubhā:** Approaching this reading through the lens of the influence of local pronunciation yields no result. r and t are unlikely to be confused, even under the influence of local Kashmiri and Oriya pronunciation. One then has to examine parallel contexts to try to come upon a possible reconstruction. A search of both *-asvakṣata/-asvakṣarā* yielded no help; both forms are unattested in the literature. In fact, *-ksatā*, *-ksarā*, *-aksatā* or *-aksarā* in the context of *asva* also produced no specific examples. An examination of the surrounding context: *yosā*, *suhavā*, and *iśirā* also yielded no information that would provide any clues to a possible reconstruction. Barrett (1927) already suggested a solution: "a word beginning with *su* seems fitting, and perhaps *svakṣarā* would be possible, even though not quotable." What is clear thus far is that, unlike Roth and Whitney, we must take the reading *-asva-* seriously. Whitney (1905) notes that all manuscripts and ŠS_{SPP}, *asvakṣabha*. This reading was discarded as being unintelligible. He reconstructed *viśvavyacāḥ* based on some unspecified reason.

All variants of PS attest *-asvakṣa-*. Even the proposed reconstruction by Barret, *svakṣarā* would not work; the pāda would be a syllable short. Although we could read *s,vakṣarā*, this emendation must be rejected on the ground that it would impossible to explain how the readings of our manuscripts may have arisen from an original reading **svakṣarā*, especially with reference to -rā which in Early Nāgarī would not be so easily confused with tā or bhā. There are no paleographic grounds to explain **svakṣarā > Or. svakṣatā* as an error arising in copying from *G or in

copying from *B in Late Eastern Nāgarī/proto-Oriya. Cf. Tripathi (1963: Table 1 & 2).

The corruption of this reading goes back to the ur-AV. The historical developments can be seen as follows:



The reading in the *G (as well as the reading which the archetype of SS) can be explained based on a writing error. In Early Nāgarī script kṣu and kṣa can be easily confused. *kṣatā* in the Orissa manuscripts is the result of an old copying mistake in Early Nāgarī, bhā ~ tā. In the Kashmiri branch, the error is to be the result of the influence of pronunciation as well as paleographic developments, cf.

Chap. IIID above. bhā > [bā] is a typical MIA development. The graphical error bhā > bā > rā probably happened by the 12th century, when the sign for ba begins to appear in inscriptions and manuscripts; before the 12th century ba was represented by the sign for va. Cf. Deambī (1982).

3. 3d Tr. 10 syllables.

achāgan: -cha- deteriorated in pronunciation to -ca- and -ja-, in both Kashmir and Orissa, cf. above Chap. IIID-E. In Kashmir, cha = [t̪ha] was simply deaspirated. See Witzel (1995: 21-28). The reading of Mā_{1c} is an orthographic error due to the confusion of -ca- and -ta-.

4. **varcas:** This is one of several abstract notions in the Veda. It is often an attribute of certain deities such as Agni, āpas, and Sūrya. The meaning of *varcas* is connected with light, brilliance, and shininess. In the Vedic context, especially that of ritual, *varcas* is associated with the force of brilliance of the *yajamāna* or king, which should surpass that of his enemies or competitors. This force, which should overcome an enemy, is associated with the sun. *Varcas* can also be taken away or stolen from one's challengers, e.g. AV 17.3.1-2. Soma is a source of *varcas* for Indra. *Varcas* is also connected directly to life concepts such as *prajā* 'progeny' and *āyus* 'life, long life.' The integral connection of *varcas* to life and kingship is seen in the Rājasūya as well as the medieval (and modern) coronation ritual of Nepal, where the king is endowed with the forces of life and thus rulership (*ksatra*). See PS 14.2.2n above. See Gonda (1984) and Tsuchiyama (1990).

Siṃha, vyāghras, piśa, dvīpin: These animals are involved in the coronation ritual, Rājasūya. The king's throne is covered by the skin of these animals symbolizing strength that is now part of the king. Generally, the Vedic list of animal skins includes tiger (lion or cat) or a bull (hyena) and an antelope. In the medieval Rājyābhiseka, the bull, cat, hyena (*tarakṣu*), lion, and tiger are mentioned. Cf. Heesterman (1957: 114-157) and Witzel (1987c).

5. 5a Tr. 10 syllables.

The first *pāda* is one syllable short. According to Vishva Bandhu (1963) and Whitney's *Index Verborum, ahni*, L. sg. is attested twice in ŚS and three times in PS. Although it is tempting on metrical grounds to correct the reading to *ahani*, the better RV L. sg., there is no basis in our manuscripts to make such a change. Furthermore, the ŚS parallel of this *pāda*, ŚS 19.49.5 is also short one syllable. Considering that both versions of the text have 10 syllables in *this pāda*, correcting *ahni* to *ahani* is not called for. If this is a peculiarity of the PS, even when it goes against good (Rgvedic meter), it must be preserved.

Pāda a consists of floating accusatives. Whitney (1905: 981), in his translation, proposes a new free conjectural reading: *sīvā́ me rātry anūtsūryám ca*. "An accusative is opposed by the connection, and the meter needs another syllable." I have translated the stanza without emendations by taking the accusatives of pāda a as the objects of *vande*. This syntax is awkward but allows us to translate the pāda as is.

6. **joṣasai:** The 2nd singular subjunctive ending *-sa/i* is always used instead of *-se* in the AV, according to Macdonell (1968:316), but never appears in the RV. The ending *-ai* has spread from the 1st singular to all forms in which *-e* would be expected.
7. 7c. *Lectio difficilior.* This is another error that goes back beyond the archetype to the ur-AV. Whitney's edited text reads *rātri hī tān anu tapa*. The variant reading noted by Lindenau (1966: 382) is *rātri hitānasupā*. In his translation, Whitney (1905: 981) notes that the text is *rātri: hitā[or hī:] nah: sutapā*. If this is indeed what the last word of the pāda should be, occurs in a very unusual position. He additionally notes, that the commentary (and ŚŚ_{SPP}) read *rātri hī tān asutapā*.

With the variants as given, we arrive at: *rātri hitā nas s??ap?*. The first half of the pāda is clear enough, 'the friendly night.' The problem is then what to make out of the *s??ap?*. One might expect a verb here – pāda final – but it seems impossible to get a verb that makes sense out of this. In addition, one would have to think possibly of an unaugmented form, perhaps an injunctive. One could also think of a verb with the preceding *nas*, but that also does not get one closer to a solution. *v/has* 'to destroy' might work, but again the following *apa* remains problematic, as well as what to do with the intervening *aksara* between the *nas-* and *d-*.

A possibility is **sutapā* 'who has good cots or beds,' thus good sleep. Early Nāgarī -l- in conjunct consonants is a small hook, on the left of the p, which can be

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easily lost or missed. This seems to fit nicely into our pāda with somewhat awkward syntax. Pāda c would then be a series of adjective in apposition to *rātr̄*,” which would continue the theme of pāda a. In the same manner, the subject of d, the thieves, seems to be liked to pāda b with the relative pronoun *ye*.

10 āśisat: is-aorist subjunctive *vās* ‘to sit.’ The confusion of ś ~ s ~ s is typical of North India and found quite often in both Kā and Orissa manuscripts.

1. ~~*tr̥ṣṭadhūman~~: This reconstruction seems likely based on the fact that *r̥* > *i* in Vedic manuscripts in Kashmir. In addition, *r̥* is realized often as [ri] in Oriya. These two factors make probable that **tr̥ṣṭr̥*> **tr̥iṣṭr̥*> *tiṣṭha* through the re-interpretation based on the well-known *tiṣṭha*-stem of *√sthā*. See Witzel (1985, 1995a).
3. **rātrim-rātrim**: This is an *amredita* compound as defined by P 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*, 8.1.2 *tasya parāmreditam*, 8.1.3 *anudāttam ca*, and continuing through 8.1.15. These types of compounds are well known and occur quite frequently in Vedic as it is shown by the single accent in the compound. Recently, G. Cardona (1996) has discussed the treatment of compounds of the type *dive dive* by Śākalya and other *pādakara-s*. His discussion illuminates the inherent differences in how Pāṇini and the *pādakara-s* treat these types of compounds. For Pāṇini, the second element of the iteration is not treated as a compound simply because it is unaccented. The key in Pāṇini's system is the idea that only one member of a possible series of terms which are put together in a compound with the same form can occur as a single remainder when a single ending is used (P 1.2.6). Thus for Pāṇini it is impossible to consider *dive dive* as a *dvanda* compound. The importance of the concept of the single remainder (*ekasēsa*) thus makes clear why 8.1.15 are necessary in the grammar. Even though Pāṇini's system accounts for such compounds as *parasmaipāda* – compounds in which each member has a different case ending – the key is that the two members are not the same. From an internal point of view to the system of Pāṇini's grammar, the *ekasēsa* rule also makes clear why there is a

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certain perceived redundancy in the system: having two ways of making compounds. Getting rid of *ekaśesa* would make 8.1.1 etc. redundant, but would then introduce another series of problems into the system.

APPENDIX I

This appendix proves a sample of typical and not so typical errors found I the manuscripts of the PS from Kashmir and Orissa used for the present edition. The list provided here is not exhaustive. Many of the errors that appear repeatedly throughout the manuscripts have not been exhaustively tabulated. Most of the errors included can be clearly attributed either the influence of local languages (Kashmiri and Oriya) on recitation or to problems arising from paleographic developments. These errors have been indicated by [AUD] = auditory or [GRPH] = graphical. In some instances, graphical errors have been narrowed down to the stage in the transmission where they occur.

Errors that have not been explained as either arising from one of these two categories are due to re-interpretation, or in most cases, reasons cannot be deduce. These errors have not been marked.

Some typical graphical errors have not been included on the list. Among these are: ch > śch, Cr > CCr, rC > rCC, the typical confusion of nasals n/ñ/n/n/m/ṁ and h/h/h. These have not been counted. In addition, the endemic shortening and lengthening of vowels, especially, i/ī and u/ū in the Orissa manuscripts, has not been included.

A general discussion of these errors and the influence on the transmission of the PS is present in Chap. III above.

Appendix I

Graphical, Auditory, and other mistakes in Kā, Mā₁, Mā₂, Pa, and Gu.

	Kā	Mā	Ma	Pa	Gu
a<>i					
a > i	13.2.6a, 13.3.1c, 13.3.6d, 13.4.1d, 13.5.4b, 14.3.10a 14.5.6a, 14.5.8c, 14.5.9c, 14.6.1c, 14.6.6b, 14.8.3c, 14.9.1b [AUD]			13.8.1c, 14.5.7 [AUD]	
i > a	13.3.1c, 13.3.4a, 13.5.7c, 14.3.1a, 14.8.3d 14.8.4b [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD]
a<>ī					
ī > a	14.3.10b [AUD]				
a<>u					
a > u	14.1.1c, 14.3.2b, 14.8.9a, 14.9.5c [AUD]	14.1.1c [AUD]		14.7.7c [AUD]	14.7.7c [AUD]
u > a	13.2.6b, 13.4.7b, 13.5.3a, 14.5.8a [AUD]			13.3.1c [AUD]	13.3.1c, 14.9.7d [AUD]
a <>ū					
-ū- > -a-	13.4.2a [AUD]				
a<>r̄					
a > r̄	13.3.3a [AUD]			13.3.3a [?]	13.3.3a [?]
r̄ > a	13.3.7c [?]				
a<>e					
a > e	13.3.7c [AUD]	14.1.4a [AUD]		14.2.9d [AUD]	14.2.9d [AUD]
e > a	13.1.4a, 13.8.2c, 14.2.2b [AUD]			14.5.2a [AUD]	14.5.2a [AUD]
a<>ai					
a<>o					
a > o	14.1.2b [AUD]				
o > a	14.7.9d [AUD]				
a<>au					
a > au	13.2.5c				
au > a	14.2.1a				

a >					
-a e->- aya-	13.3.7d				
-a e-> -aye-				13.8.5e [AUD]	
-a >-at	13.1.1c				
-a u-> -ar u-	14.3.2a				
-aya-> -a-	13.7.1d [AUD]				
-aya-> -aiya-	14.5.4c				
-ayai-> -a e-	14.5.4d				
-an >					
-an >-a	13.3.1d [AUD]				
-an >- am	13.3.9d [AUD]				
-ann >- amn	14.5.5c [AUD]				
-am >					
-am >- -a	13.2.4a [AUD ?]				
-am >- am				13.3.1a [AUD]	
-am̄ >					
-am̄ >- an	13.3.5d, 13.5.1d [AUD]	13.5.1d [AUD]	13.5.1d [AUD]	13.5.1d [AUD]	
-am̄ >- am					
-am̄ >- ām̄		13.3.9b [AUD]			
-am̄ >					
-am̄ > -o	14.5.5b, 14.6.2a [AUD]				
-ah̄ >					
-ah̄ > -a	13.3.7d, 13.4.7d [AUD]				
-ah̄ > -āh̄	13.3.2b [AUD]				
ā <> ī					
ā > ī		14.5.5c [?]	14.5.5c [?]	14.5.5c [?]	
ī > a	13.5.6c [AUD]		13.1.5a [?]	13.1.5a [?]	
ā <> e					
e > ā				14.1.8b [?]	
ā > e					
ā <> o					
ā->o	14.6.5c [AUD]		14.1.8c [AUD]	13.3.1d [AUD]	

-ān <>					
-ān > -ān		13.5.9a [AUD]	13.5.9a [AUD]		13.5.9a [AUD]
-ān > -ām [AUD]	13.5.5c, 13.5.4c	13.5.4c [AUD]	13.5.4c [AUD]	13.5.4c [AUD]	13.5.4c [AUD]
-ān m- > -ām n-					13.1.5a [AUD]
-ān <>					
-ān > -āna			13.2.4d [AUD ?]	13.2.4d [AUD ?]	13.2.4d [AUD ?]
-ān > -ām [AUD]	13.1.1d, 13.2.7d, 13.2.4d, 14.6.1b				
-ān m- > -ā m-	14.5.6c [AUD]				
ār- > ar-				13.2.3b [AUD]	
-ām <>					
-ām > -ā				14.6.1a [GRAPH]	
-ām > -ān [AUD]	13.1.1d, 13.2.1b				
-ām > -ān m-	13.2.1 [AUD]				
-āh > -ā	13.1.10a [AUD]				
-āh >					
-āh > -ā	14.5.6a, 14.5.9d [AUD]				
-ā i-> -āyi-	13.3.8d [AUD]				
-āms > -ās	14.5.3v, 14.6.5c, 14.7.6c [AUD]	14.7.6c [AUD]			
-āyai > -ā i-	14.2.4c [AUD]				
i <> ī					
i > ī	13.2.2b [AUD]	13.1.10a [AUD]	13.1.10a [AUD]	13.1.10a [AUD]	13.1.10a, 14.8.5a [AUD]
ī > i	14.6.4b, 14.6.7c [AUD]	13.4.1c [AUD]	13.4.1c [AUD]	13.4.1c [AUD]	13.4.1c [AUD]
i <> u					
i > u	13.3.6d, 13.3.9d, 13.5.6a, 14.2.6c, 14.3.5a [R]				
u > i	13.7.5c, 14.6.4d, 14.6.8c, 14.7.1c [R]				

i <> e					
e > i	13.8.2d [AUD]				
i >					
i > r̄					
i > yu	13.3.2d [AUD]				
ir > r̄					13.4.1a [AUD]
-i y- > -y-	13.7.7a, 13.7.9d [AUD]				
īns > yūs	13.4.1d [AUD ?]				
ī <> e					
ī > e	14.8.4b [AUD]				
e > ī	13.1.7a, 14.2.7b, 14.8.4d [AUD]				
ī <> ai					
ī > ai	13.8.4am 14.2.8d [AUD ?]				
ai > ī	13.8.1e, 14.5.5b [AUD ?]				
ī >					
ī > o	13.1.5a [GRAPH *G/*B]				
-ī ā- > -ī yā-	14.6.7c [AUD]				
-ī u- > -yau-	14.6.8a [AUD]				
-ī -> -ya-	13.7.5a [AUD]				
-īr > -īh̄				13.1.6a [?]	
-īm̄ > -ī			14.5.7d [GRPH]		14.5.7d [GRPH]
u <> ū					
u > ū		13.3.5c [AUD]			
ū > u		14.6.6c [AUD]	13.3.3d, 13.3.10a 14.6.6c [AUD]	14.6.3b, 14.6.6c [AUD]	14.6.6c [AUD]
u <> r̄					
u > r̄			13.5.4b [AUD]		
r̄ > u	14.8.1c [AUD]				
u <> e					
u > e	14.8.5d [?]				
u > o					
u > o	13.6.5a [AUD]				
u >					
u > ra	13.3.2c [?]				

ud- > id-	13.3.2c [R]	13.3.2c [R]	13.3.2c [R]	13.3.2 [R]	13.3.2c [R]
ur > ḥ				14.6.9b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.9b [AUD/ GRPH]
uṣ > jus	14.9.7 [AUD ?]				
ū <> ā					
ū > ā	13.4.2a, 13.5.4c [AUD]				
ū <> o					
ū > o	14.6.6c				
ū>					
Cū > va				13.3.10a[GRPH]	13.3.10a[GRPH]
ṛ <> ri					
ṛ > ri	14.5.3c, 14.5.6a [AUD]		14.6.1d [AUD]		
ri > ḥ		13.4.6d [AUD]		13.4.6d [AUD]	13.4.6d [AUD]
ṛ <> ru					
ṛ > ru		13.2.3b [AUD/GRPH]	14.1.9c, 14.2.3c, 14.2.4a, 145.9a, 14.6.9c, 14.7.5c [AUD/GRPH]		13.1.5b [AUD/GRPH]
ru > ḥ	13.1.5b, 13.3.4b [AUD]	13.4.6ad, 13.5.5a 13.5.10a 13.6.2a 14.1.1b, 14.1.6c, 14.1.7a, 14.1.8c, 14.2.7c, 14.2.9b, 14.3.1c, 14.3.2c, 14.3.3b, 14.3.8a, 14.3.9ab, 14.5.6d 14.5.7a, 14.6.1d, 14.6.3b, 14.6.6c, 14.7.1d, 14.8.2a, 14.8.4cd, 14.8.1c [AUD/GRPH]	13.3.4a [AUD/GRPH]	13.3.4a, 13.5.5a, 14.1.8c, 14.3.3b, 14.3.8a, 14.3.9ab 14.6.6c, 14.7.1d, 14.8.2a [AUD/GRPH]	13.1.5b, 13.3.4a, 13.4.6a, 13.5.5a, 13.5.10a 13.6.2a 14.1.1b, 14.1.2a, 14.1.6c, 14.1.7a, 14.1.8c, 14.2.7c. 14.2.9b, 14.3.1c, 14.3.2c, 14.3.3b, 14.3.5d, 14.3.8a, 14.3.9abc, 14.5.6d, 14.5.7a, 14.6.1d, 14.6.3b, 14.6.6c, 14.7.1d, 14.8.2a, 14.8.4cd 14.8.10c [AUD/GRPH]
ṛ <> rū					
ṛ > rū					
rū > ḥ		13.3.3a, 14.5.7c, 14.7.9a [AUD/GRPH]	14.5.7c [AUD/GRPH]	14.5.7c, 14.7.9a [AUD/GRPH]	13.3.3, 14.5.7c, 14.7.9a [AUD/GRPH]
ṛ >					
ṛ > rā				14.5.9a [?]	14.5.9a [?]
-ṛḥṇā->	14.1.6a [GRPH]				
-ṛbhū-					
e <> ī	See ī <> e				

e <> ai					
e > ai	14.8.3a [AUD ?]				
ai > e	14.6.9c, 14.7.8ac [AUD ?]		14.5.5b [AUD ?]		
e >					
-e ā- > - ayā-	13.9.6 [AUD]				
-e->-o-	13.2.5b, 13.5.2b, 13.5.8a [GRPH] 'G/'B]				14.2.1c [GRPH]
e- > ya-	14.5.8a [AUD]				
-e- > -ye-		13.4.4c, 14.8.3a [AUD]	13.4.4c, 14.8.3a [AUD]	13.4.4c, 14.8.3a [AUD]	13.4.4c, 14.1.2b [AUD]
-e y- > - e ø-	14.1.8b [AUD]				
-e ham- > -e yam-	13.2.4a, 13.4.6c [AUD]				
ai <> e	See e <> ai				
ai >					
ai > ū	13.5.9a [R]				
ai >ahi	13.1.1a, 13.2.4c [R]				
o <> e					
-o > -e	13.2.5b, 13.4.4a, 13.6.5a, 14.5.8a [GRPH]				
o <> au					
o > au	13.6.5d, 14.3.9a [GRPH]				
au > o	13.2.2a, 13.2.5c, 14.5.3b, 14.6.1a, 14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]	14.6.8b [AUD/ GRPH]
au <> a	See a <> au				
au <> o	See o <> au				
! >					
! > l	1				
k					
k > p	13.8.3b [?]				
ka > va		13.3.9c [GRPH]			
kāpā > ka	13.1.9				
-kr- > -ka-				14.5.5a	14.5.5a

-kr- >	145.5a				
-sva-					
-kt- >	14.5.5c [GRPH *G / *D]				
-t-					
kʂ > kh	14.2.5a, 14.3.5a [AUD]				
kʂ- > y-				13.3.1c [GRPH]	13.3.1c [GRPH]
ksyā > kspa		13.1.9a [GRPH]	13.1.9a [GRPH]	13.1.9a [GRPH]	13.1.9a [GRPH]
g					
-ge- >			14.8.3a GRPH]		
-to-					
g > k	13.1.1d, 13.2.4d, 13.3.10b, 14.3.6b 14.9.7 [AUD]			13.1.1d, 13.3.10b [AUD]	
g > gh	14.5.6c [AUD]	14.8.2a [AUD]			14.8.2 [AUD]
g > ś	13.5.9c [GRPH ?]				
ś > g				14.8.9d [GRPH]	14.8.9d [GRPH]
g > s					14.8.9d
C					
ca > cā				13.1.1c [AUD]	13.1.1c [AUD]
ca > tu		14.2.7a	14.2.7a	14.2.7a	14.2.7a
cau > cyo	13.2.5c [AUD ?]				
c > j	13.5.2a [AUD]				
-c- > -t-	13.3.3d [AUD]				
-c- > - d-	13.2.6d, 13.5.7a, 14.7.6.d [GRPH *G / *D]				
c > v	14.4.4d [GRPH *G / *B]				
ch					
ch > c	14.8.3b [AUD]				14.8.3b [AUD]
ch > g		14.8.3b		14.8.3g	
ch > t			14.8.3b		
ch- > śch-	Everywhere in Kā [GRPH]				
j					
j > d				14.2.2c [GRPH]	
j > m	14.8.6b				
jyo > yo		13.8.2d [AUD]	13.8.2d [AUD]	13.8.2d [AUD]	13.8.2d [AUD]
j > r	13.6.4b [GRPH ?]				
ń					

-ṇcc > -cya	14.1.1c, 14.1.6c [AUD]				
ṭ					
ṭā > tyā	14.8.3d [AUD]				
-ṭ- > - ṛ-				13.3.10d	13.3.10d
ṭh <> ṭ					
ṭh > ṭ	14.3.2b [AUD]	14.6.8c, 14.8.2b [AUD]	14.6.8c, 14.8.2b [AUD]	14.6.8c, 14.8.2b [AUD]	14.6.8c, 14.8.2b [AUD]
ṭ > ṭh	14.7.2d				
D					
ḍ > ḍ	13.6.2b [AUD]				
ḍ > d				14.5.7b [AUD]	14.5.7b [AUD]
ḍ > l	13.5.7b [AUD]				
t					
t > c	14.3.3d [AUD]				
t > j	13.3.8b, 14.7.9d [AUD]				
t > th	13.7.6d [AUD ?]				
t > d	14.3.10cde, 14.6.8b [AUD]	13.7.3d [AUD ?]	13.7.3d [AUD ?]	13.7.3d [AUD ?]	13.7.3d [AUD ?]
t > dh	14.3.4b [AUD ?]				
t > bh	13.5.2c, 14.3.4a, 14.7.2c, 14.7.6a [GRPH]		14.6.3b [GRPH]	13.5.2c [GRPH]	13.5.2c [GRPH]
-t- > -p-	14.5.3d	13.2.5b, 13.2.6b, [GRPH]		13.2.5b [GRPH]	
-t- > -tv-	13.4.7d, 14.2.2c [AUD]				
-t- > -ś-	13.5.7b				
t > h				14.6.5b [GRPH]	
-tn- > -nn-	13.7.4c [GRPH] *G / *D				
-ty- > -tv-	13.3.6c [GRPH]				
ty > bhr	14.1.9c [GRPH]				
ṭrā > dhū	14.8.3c				
-ṭr- > -tn-	13.5.7c, 14.8.2c [GRPH *G / *D]				
-tv- > -rś-	13.4.4a				
tv > sv	13.5.4b				
-tv- > - h-				13.4.4c [GRPH ?]	
-ts- >		14.1.7b [AUD]	14.1.7b [AUD]	14.1.7b [AUD]	14.1.7b [AUD]

-ch-					
-ts- >	13.5.7b, 14.8.6d [AUD]				
-sch-					
-t d- >	14.5.7a [AUD]				
-ø d-					
t <> th					
t > th	14.2.6d [AUD]				
th > t	14.6.8a, 14.6.10d 14.7.1b [AUD]				
d					
d > k	14.2.8d				
-d > -g	13.4.5c				
d > c	13.2.4b				
d > j	13.4.2a				
d > d̪	13.6.1a [AUD]				
d > t	13.5.2b [AUD]				
d > th	14.9.6c [AUD ?]				
d > dh	13.2.10c, 13.5.2b 13.5.4a, 13.6.1b, 13.6.5a, 14.7.2c, 14.8.4b [AUD]	14.5.3b [AUD]	14.5.3b [AUD]	14.5.3b [AUD]	14.5.3b [AUD]
d > n	14.5.7b, 14.6.8c [GRPH *G/ *D]				
d > bh	14.8.7d [GRPH]				
d > r	13.3.3b, 14.2.10b [GRPH *D ?]				
-d > -m̄				13.4.5c	13.4.5c
-dyā > -dvi	14.9.6a [AUD]				
dyah > dah				13.1.8a [GRPH]	13.1.8a [GRPH]
d̄ > da	14.3.10ac				
dv > dh					13.5.6b
dh					
dh > gh		14.9.5			
dh > d	13.2.4b, 13.5.2b, 13.5.3c, 13.5.4a, 14.4.5a, 14.5.9d 14.6.4d [AUD]		14.9.1 [AUD]	14.5.10a [AUD]	
dh > p					13.1.6a [GRPH *B]
dh > y	14.1.10a [GRPH]				
-dh- > -r-	13.2.6c				

-dh- > -v-	13.5.7c [GRPH *D?]				
dh > §	13.5.9c [GRPH]				
dhi > dhr	13.2.3a [AUD]				
dhānn > dhnān					14.5.8c [GRPH]
dhya > ddha				14.7.7a [GRPH]	14.7.7a [GRPH]
n					
n > d	14.9.5 [GRPH *B]				
-n > -m	13.3.7a,d [AUD]				
-n- > -l-	13.3.6a [GRPH *G/ *B]				
n > v	14.5.5d [GRPH]				
ne > nye	14.4.5c [AUD]				
-nC- > -rC-	13.3.4c [GRPH]				
-nt- > -ṇt-	13.5.9b, 14.1.7a, 14.3.5a, 14.3.8cd [AUD]	13.5.4b [AUD]	13.5.4b [AUD]	13.5.4b [AUD]	13.5.4b [AUD]
-nyāya- > -nyā-	14.5.7c				
-n hy- > -dhy-	13.5.4c [AUD ?]				
P					
p > k	13.3.4c				
p > d	14.6.5b				
p > n	14.8.4a				
p > b	14.8.1d [AUD]				
p > bh	14.8.1d [AUD]				
p > m	14.5.4a [GRPH ?]				
-p- > -y-			13.1.8b, 13.1.10a [GRPH]		
-pa- > -va-	13.3.9b, 14.2.10d [AUD]		14.4.2b [AUD]	14.4.2b [AUD]	14.4.2b [AUD]
-pa- > -vi-	13.3.8d				
pu- > pra-	13.3.2c [GRPH]				
pe > to				13.7.9a [GRPH]	
pra > pa	14.5.1d				

b					
b > t	14.1.9a, 14.8.5c [GRPH ?]				
bi > svi	13.6.1a				
bh					
Bh > t	14.3.4a [GRPH]	14.8.1a [GRPH]	14.8.1a [GRPH]	14.8.1a [GRPH]	14.8.1a [GRPH]
-bh- >- dh-	13.3.8c [GRPH]				
-bh- > -n-	13.5.8b [GRPH] *G/ *D]				
bh > m	14.9.5 [GRPH ?]				
bh > r	14.8.1a				
-bh- > -v-	13.3.9d, 13.4.5c [AUD]	13.1.1a [AUD]			
-bha->- vi-	13.1.1a, 13.2.4c				
bh > ś			14.8.4d [GRPH ?]		
bh > h	13.2.4b [AUD]	13.3.6d [AUD ?]			
bhy > ti	13.6.1a [GRPH]				
-bhra- > - kra-	14.7.7a [GRPH]				
M					
m > c	13.4.4a, 14.5.4a [GRPH]				
m > d	13.5.1a				
m > n	14.5.3a, 14.9.4a [AUD]				
m > v	14.5.2a, 14.5.7b	14.5.6b	14.5.6b	14.5.6b	14.5.6b
ma > sa	13.1.10a,13.2.51 3.2.6a, 13.3.2c, 13.3.7c, 13.5.1b, 13.5.8a, 14.3.2c, 14.52a, 14.5.5c, 14.5.10a,14.6.4b [GRPH]				
ma > pi	13.4.1d [GRPH ?]				
mā > myā		13.4.6d	13.4.6d	13.4.6d	13.4.6d
mū > mya	13.1.10b				
me > spa					13.1.4a [GRPH]
-mrñ- > -mrñ-		13.4.2a			
-mrñ- > -nrñmñ-	13.4.2a [AUD]				

m > p	13.4.1d, 14.7.4d [GRPH]				
y					
y > j	14.6.8b [AUD]				
ye > e	13.7.3d [AUD]				
Cy > Cp					13.5.8c [GRPH]
Cy > Cv		14.7.9b [GRPH]	14.7.9b [GRPH]		
r					
R > j	13.6.4b				
-r- > -d-	14.6.7a				
r > d	14.9.3, 14.9.4 [GRPH ?]				
-r- > - n-	14.5.10c [GRPH]				
-ra- > - rra-					13.2.6d [AUD ?]
r > l	14.9.3 [Aud ?]				
ri > ru			13.4.6d [AUD]		
ri > vi	13.4.6d [GRPH]				
-ru- > -r-	14.3.9a [AUD]				
-ru- > - rC-	13.3.4a				
-re- > - ra-	13.2.4d [GRPH]				
-r̄s- > -r̄s-		14.3.5b [AUD]	14.3.5b [AUD]	14.3.5b [AUD]	
v					
v > n	14.8.2cd, 14.8.4c [GRPH]				
v > p				14.8.2a [GRPH]	
v > bh	14.8.2a [GRPH ?]				
v > r	14.2.10a [GRPH ?]				
v > s	13.3.9d				
vi > dvi	13.3.9.d				
vi > dhi	14.7.5d				
vi > vya	14.5.9a [AUD]				
v̄i > vyā	14.5.4a [AUD]				
-v̄r > -ru-	14.5.6b [AUD]				
vya > dyā	13.4.7b [GRPH *G/*D]				

ś					
ś > kh	13.4.5d, 13.5.4c [AUD]				
ś > c	14.7.9c [AUD/ GRPH]				
ś > n	14.3.7c				
ś > p	14.8.4a [GRPH]				
ś > sch	14.3.6b [AUD]				
ś > š		13.5.4a [AUD]	13.3.10c, 13.5.4c [AUD]	13.3.10c, 13.5.4c [AUD]	13.3.10b,c, 13.5.4c [AUD]
ś > s	13.3.2d, 13.5.4a [AUD]	14.2.10b [AUD]	14.2.10b [AUD]	14.2.10b [AUD]	14.1.2c, 14.1.5b [AUD]
śa > śru	14.7.5a				
śya > śc	13.8.4a [GRPH ?]				
śya > tya	13.9.5				
śn > śn	14.7.6d [AUD]				
śri > śṛ	14.3.9d [AUD]				
śrī > śā	14.3.5c				
śrī > śrr̥		14.3.5c [AUD ?]			
śva > śya	13.1.7a [GRPH ?]				
śva > śri	14.8.3d				
š					
š > k	13.5.1b [AUD]				
š > kh	14.8.1a [AUD]				
š > m	13.5.8a [GRPH]				
š > p				13.1.3a [GRPH]	13.1.3a [GRPH]
š > ś	13.4.5c, 14.1.10b [AUD]	14.3.9e [AUD]	13.3.5d, 13.3.10c 13.4.5c, 13.5.2d, 14.3.9e [AUD]	14.3.9e, 14.4.2c, 14.8.2b [AUD]	14.3.9e [AUD]
š > s	13.5.1 [AUD]				14.1.10b [AUD]
-śi- > -	13.3.6b				
śri-					
st̥ > śtr̥	13.3.2c				
st̥ > śv		13.3.2c	13.3.2c	13.3.2c	13.3.2c
-śva- > -sū-		14.2.8c [AUD ?]	14.2.8c [AUD ?]	14.2.8c [AUD ?]	14.2.8c [AUD ?]
-śva- > -suk	14.2.8c				
s					
si > sva	13.3.8b				
s > t	13.5.7b				

<i>s > d</i>			13.3.8a		
<i>s > m</i>	13.1.4a, 13.1.5a, 13.5.3c, 13.6.5c, 14.3.2c, 14.3.6b, 14.5.8a, 14.6.9d		13.1.5a [GRPH]		
	13.1.10 [GRPH]				
<i>s > ſ</i>	13.3.7d [AUD]	13.3.8b, 13.8.4d, 14.7.3b [AUD]	13.3.8b, 13.8.4d, 14.7.3b [AUD]	13.3.8b, 13.8.4d, 14.7.3b [AUD]	13.3.8b, 13.8.4d, 14.7.3b [AUD]
<i>s > §</i>	14.1.3a, 14.3.8d [AUD]		14.1.3a [AUD]	14.1.3a [AUD]	14.1.3a [AUD]
<i>s > h</i>				13.3.8a [GRPH *B]	13.3.8a [GRPH *B]
<i>su > sva</i>	14.8.3a [AUD ?]				
<i>sř > sa</i>	14.5.8c				
<i>sau > ſve</i>	14.3.5a [AUD ?]				
<i>-stv-> - sv</i>				13.6.5b [GRPH]	13.6.5b [GRPH]
<i>-stv-> - ss</i>	13.6.5b [GRPH ?]				
<i>-sya->-ſca-</i>		14.2.10d [AUD ?]	14.2.10d [AUD ?]	14.2.10d [AUD ?]	14.2.10d [AUD ?]
<i>sya > cya</i>	14.6.5d [GRPH]				
<i>sra > ſř</i>	13.4.1a [AUD ?]				
<i>-sv- > ſř</i>					
<i>svā > sv</i>	14.5.2a [AUD]				
<i>h</i>					
<i>-ha- > - ya-</i>	13.2.4a [GRPH]				
<i>h > bh</i>	14.8.5b [AUD]				
<i>huve > hvai</i>	13.4.6c [AUD]				
<i>-hn- > - lh</i>	13.4.1c [GRPH *G/*D]				
<i>hya > jya</i>		14.5.3b, 14.5.5a [AUD ?]	14.5.3b, 14.5.5a [AUD ?]	14.5.3b, 14.5.5a [AUD ?]	14.5.3b, 14.5.5a [AUD ?]
<i>-hy- > - sy-</i>	13.2.5d, 13.2.6a [GRPH]				
<i>hſ > ſ</i>	13.5.9a				

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